Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur

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MR. BRYAN RIDES BEHIND

BY THE EDITOR

"When two men ride an ass, one must ride behind."

It is a very full year now since Mr. Bryan took his place in the second saddle upon the flanks of the Ass of Democracy, and the continuing stability of his sturdy form is equaled only by the fixity of purpose which illumines his expressive countenance. How well we recall the dire predictions when another of slighter build leaped nimbly upon the withers of that lean and hungry beast of burden, and the greatest of commoners accepted an assignment to ride behind! "The ass," 'twas commonly said in the words of Miguel de Cervantes, "will carry his load, but not a double load." And now behold! Is not that a sleek and well-fed animal? And upon his strengthened back are not two bounding spirits, close knitted as were the souls of Jonathan and David, two hearts that beat as one? Was ever a prettier sight in the eyes of the host that wandered, oh! so long, in the bleak and barren wilderness?

But of rhapsody enough! What are the facts?

The election had taken place and Predestination, aided and abetted by the efficacious citizen who is now attending snake fights in South America, had triumphed. Immediately there developed vigorous opposition to the designa-

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tion of Mr. Bryan as Secretary of State. Conservative public journals implored the President-elect to hesitate before hazarding the confidence of the country by putting into first place one whose theories were so generally regarded as unsound and had thrice been repudiated at the polls. Well-wishers directed attention to the temperamental unfitness of Mr. Bryan for a position requiring trained intelligence, painstaking application, and the nicest sense of propriety in dealing with representatives of foreign Powers. Politicians urged that the pervasive Commoner would overshadow the Administration. Mr. Bryan, saying no word, withdrew to Florida and inaugurated a period of watchful waiting. While thus engaged he thoughtfully posed for the interesting portrait which we present herewith. At the crucial moment in his deliberations the President-elect received a copy of the photograph. He studied it intently from all points of view; he scrutinized it closely; he held it at arm's-length; he presented it to the light; he scanned it sidewise and upside down; he turned its face to the wall and tried to whistle. All in vain. There was no escape from an inexorable fact. No back was strong enough to bear such a burden. Mr. Bryan should be taken to his bosom.

The terms and conditions were negotiated successfully by Colonel Edward M. House. They were not rigorous. Inasmuch as the people would hold the President responsible for the acts of his subordinates, he must reserve to himself the making of all appointments. Realizing the difficulty of satisfying the yearnings of his many faithful friends and of discriminating between them without loss of personal devotedness, Mr. Bryan cheerfully acquiesced. The President was, in the language of *The State,* "in a very real sense head of the Executive"; he must, therefore, have the making and shaping of foreign policies; in other words, as subsequently stated with peculiar explicitness by Ambassador Walter H. Page, "whenever important foreign questions come up, the President must himself hold the portfolio." Mr. Bryan conceded the right. In return, he stipulated that, being thus freed from so many onerous tasks, he should have the privilege of continuing his lucrative lectures in order to make suitable provision for his reclining years. He should, moreover, be relieved of the traditional requirement to serve wine to either foreigners or domestics. The President-elect graciously assented; the bargain was

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struck; and, in consideration of his valuable services, Mr. House was constituted Assistant President, with full power to sit in theater boxes with the head of the Nation, regardless of the sentiments of Chairman William F. McCombs.

How scrupulously the terms thus arranged have been observed by the subscribers is known to all, and at the end of a full twelvemonth the compact remains unbroken, to the complete satisfaction of the leagued triumvirate and to the inestimable benefit of our native land. Mr. Bryan was the first to proclaim his constantly growing appreciation of his colleague—if we may use the President's own considerate term—and his personal happiness at being permitted to whip up the donkey while the President held the reins. As early as April 17th he informed the public that he had "never known a man with a more open mind" than Mr. Wilson, and added, "the more I see of him and the more intimate become my relations with him the larger he grows." In using these words, Mr. Bryan did not mean to imply that the increase in the President's mental stature was attributable to contact with himself; he merely noted the impression upon his own mind of greatness previously developed which he had not fully realized theretofore.

Pursuant to a resolve formed in early boyhood never to permit himself to be outdone in display of magnanimity, the President now, in a letter to a Baltimore friend not marked "Personal," returns the compliment in characteristically felicitous phrase. Inasmuch as it was the appearance of this generous tribute that induced these humble reflections, we quote with undisguised satisfaction:

> Your reference to the Secretary of State shows how comprehensively you have looked on during the last few months. Not only have Mr. Bryan's character, his justice, his sincerity, his transparent integrity, his Christian principle, made a deep impression upon all with whom he has dealt; but his tact in dealing with men of many sorts, his capacity for business, his mastery of the principles of each matter he has been called upon to deal with, have cleared away many a difficulty and have given to the policy of the State Department a definiteness and dignity that are very admirable.
>
> I need not say what pleasure and profit I, myself, have taken from close association with Mr. Bryan or how thoroughly he has seemed to all of us who are associated with him here to deserve not only our confidence, but our affectionate admiration.

One noteworthy feature of this eulogium to which we would direct attention is its timeliness. Happening to look over his shoulder, the President detected a glimpse of sad-

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ness upon the countenance of his traveling companion. Whereupon, pondering thoughtfully, he realized that of late Mr. Bryan had become unwontedly restive under criticism which he felt to be undeserved. Moreover, a conspiracy had developed to discredit him in the eyes of the very real Executive himself and to make inroads upon the intimacy which had grown up between them. While no complaining word had come from Mr. Bryan's own lips, "his friends," according to the newspapers, were "talking freely." Their discovery of the plot referred to was heralded in the public journals of January 12th.

It seems that the conspirators are very rich persons who transact business in Wall Street, New York City, and sleep in palaces abutting on Central Park. No names are mentioned, but the identity of several is strongly suspected and may be revealed at any moment. Money is no object. Contributions reported to aggregate several millions of dollars have already been made and a limitless additional amount is held carelessly in reserve. "The operations of the cabal, it is alleged, have been of an insidious nature, unseen and unsuspected by the general public, but none the less effective." Newspapers have been "reached in a corrupting manner" and have co-operated "in a thousand unseen ways" in "sowing the seed of anti-Bryanism." Hence the volume of criticism of the Secretary of State for lecturing, for refusing to furnish fermented juices to guests, and especially for conferring foreign appointments upon faithful and deserving friends. "The object of the conspiracy is asserted to be the discrediting of Mr. Bryan in the estimation of the President and the country so as to make it impossible for him to retain his place in the Cabinet."

So ran the story, with much particularity, to the length of a full column. Why "some of the most intimate and ardent friends of the Secretary" considered its publication advantageous to Mr. Bryan can only be surmised, but if by chance the real purpose was to extort a testimonial from the White House, it was achieved promptly and fully.

President Wilson leaves no room for doubt of his very high opinion of Mr. Bryan's quality. We cannot recall a more comprehensive summing up of civic virtues. Many men even of the present day and generation possess character, sincerity, and a sense of justice, but those whose integrity is transparent are few and far between. That so much

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can be said and well said of Mr. Bryan is a noteworthy fact. With his tact all acquaintances, however casual, have long been familiar. His "capacity for business," too, is fully established, no less than his mastery of the variegated principles which he has succeeded in inducing others to accept. The "admirable definiteness and dignity" with which he has imbued the State Department, we must confess, is somewhat less translucent than his rectitude, but his deserving of "confidence and affectionate admiration" is past dispute. Despite the indelible impression stamped upon our imagination by the President's unqualified tribute to Brother Pindell's "ability, discretion, and suitability," we cannot but feel that Mr. Bryan looms upon his discriminative mental horizon as the larger of the two.

What interests us particularly is Mr. Wilson's generous recognition of Mr. Bryan's efficiency as the directive head of the State Department. Somehow we have never been able to circumscribe Mr. Bryan as a mere Secretary of State. We long since came to regard him as a Public Institution such as the English possess in Westminster Abbey and the French in the Arc de Triomphe. Official information, therefore, to the effect that he can sit without restiveness for hours at a time before a desk and not only detect red tags, but untie red tape and "clear away many a difficulty," assumes the magnitude of a surprising revelation.

We would not be understood as questioning the potency of Mr. Bryan as Secretary of State. We are well aware that he has afforded valuable assistance in proposing Ministers to South American republics; that he popularized the Administration immediately upon his accession by serving notice upon Great Britain in a St. Patrick's speech that home rule must be granted to Ireland; that he counseled the recognition of Mr. Yuan Shih-k'ai as "a just government resting upon the consent of the governed"; that he despatched election inspectors to Santo Domingo; that he selected Mr. John Lind, of whom the President had never heard, for the high post of Unofficial Agent to Mexico; that he induced the *Commoner* to loan Associate Editor Metcalfe to Panama; that he rendered really beneficial service in California; and, finally, that he has striven incessantly by word and deed to inculcate cultivation of peace among nations throughout the world.

It is altogether probable that Mr. Bryan's efforts to estab-

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lish practical methods of removing the causes of war will result in slight tangible accomplishment during his tenure of office. His "Peace Treaty No. 1" with little Salvador, for example, containing the remarkable provision that "pending the investigation and report of the International Commission, the high contracting parties agree not to increase their military or naval programs, unless danger from a third Power should compel such increase, in which case the party feeling itself menaced shall confidentially communicate the fact in writing to the other contracting party, whereupon the latter shall also be released from its obligation to maintain its military and naval *status quo*," was so utterly absurd upon its face that it evoked only derision. But Mr. Bryan, unruffled as ever, persisted with characteristic patience in his endeavor to construct practicable and enforceable agreements, eliminating impossible clauses such as that quoted, modifying, adding, subtracting, and perfecting, until at last, in his treaty with Denmark, he has formulated at least a basis for avoidance of the seven-eighths of wars which history has proven to be unnecessary.

It is true that only smaller countries have as yet subscribed to these compacts and that our own Senate has still to pass upon them. But it is equally certain that this method of procedure, in feeling out the way, was the wisest, if not indeed the only one that could have made progress at all. Moreover, practically all of the great Powers have accepted the basic principle of adjustment formulated by Mr. Bryan and evince full willingness to follow his lead in striving for more definite understanding. Whether the innumerable difficulties arising from international differences of opinion, national jealousies, considerations of "honor," and the like can be overcome in any large sense during a few short years is yet to be determined, but there can be no question that Mr. Bryan has paved the way for the solution of the gravest problem of the age. This in itself is a great achievement, a very great achievement, constituting a fair claim to honor and renown worthy of a Washington or a Jefferson. We are surprised that the President should have overlooked it.

Although, as Mr. Bryan remarked parenthetically in an interesting discourse to the Baltimore convention, convivial Virginia achieved distinction by becoming the birthplace of his grandfather, his own father had the larger portion of his being in Salem, Illinois, and his name was Silas. He was a

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consistent patron of the little brown jug commemorated in the song of those days, but only in the haying season when the jug was filled with oatmeal and water and carefully ensconced for cooling purposes in the fragrant, damp grass. Wine was never served upon Mr. Silas Bryan's table, first because the host disapproved of the use of intoxicating beverages as a matter of principle, and, secondly, because there was no wine in Salem. Thus it happened that Mr. William Jennings Bryan became a teetotaler early in life, but he did not join the Blue Ribbon Society until he heard a certain little girl recite the well-known poem entitled "The lips that touch liquor shall never touch mine." Little did those present suspect that this simple recitation foreshadowed the overturning of an ages-old and world-wide custom among the nations of the earth. And yet so it was. From that day to this Mr. Bryan has never even availed himself of the privilege, implied by the Scriptural injunction, of discriminating in favor of wine that is white.

"I shall feel," he said recently in an address to the Boy Scouts, "that I have not lived entirely in vain if by abstaining from intoxicating liquors and beverages I have given any strength to any one and helped him to resist temptation. If I have been the means of helping just one boy I do not know how much service I have rendered to the world through him, for we can never tell what a boy can do. The possibilities of a boy are beyond the power of language to describe—especially an American boy. Nowhere else has the individual a greater opportunity to come into touch with and to influence his fellow-men, and in no former age was this possibility of service greater than it is now."

Of the sincerity of this utterance there can be no question. It was but natural and proper, therefore, that Mr. Bryan should ask the President-elect whether, as Secretary of State, he would be expected to set aside his lifelong practice, and it was equally thoughtful and tactful of Mr. Wilson, who does not have to attend the diplomatic dinners, anyway, to leave the decision to Mr. Bryan's own discreet sense of the fitness of things. Hence the abrupt departure from custom which threatened at one time to rock the foundations of international comity.

For ourselves, we have always considered Mr. Bryan's course in this matter wholly commendable. That he personally should be called upon to discard a fixed principle,

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nobody, of course, would maintain. Nor, to our mind, having in view the importance which Mr. Bryan rightfully attaches to his example, could he conscientiously supply wine to others. There is point, of course, in the reflection of a friendly and competent observer that "if he had been a more sophisticated man he would have realized that the Ambassadors were fully competent to use discrimination about beverages, and that it was no part of his duty to restrict their choice while they were his guests," but this slight infraction upon courtesy is clearly overweighed by the more vital consideration.

Whether the ultimate compromise upon the very slightly alcoholic juice of the grape can be regarded as wholly worthy is a matter of opinion. Personally we should have preferred cider as a more healthful, more delectable, and more truly National beverage; but, be that as it may, we do not understand that Mr. Bryan requires his guests to imbibe his sugar-laden concoction against their will. Nor do we assume that he would object to an Ambassador fetching and sipping his own wine, although there is no record of this having been attempted. The problem of the Ambassadors themselves seems to have been solved by the ingenious lady from Peru who devised for Mr. Bryan's personal use a pineapple potion so like in appearance the champagne supplied to the others as to be hardly distinguishable. Thus amity is preserved at no cost to anybody of principle or of due indulgence, and, so long as precaution shall be taken to avert a National calamity by avoiding the possible mixing of glasses, we may safely regard this incident as diplomatically and hermetically closed, and continue to contemplate with surety and gratification the aloofness of Mr. Bryan from the classification fixed by the late Eugene Field, who defined a "chump" as "a large, solemn ass who opens wine."

If Mr. Bryan were asked to designate his favorite hymn, we suspect that he would reply, "Lead, Kindly Light"; and, after that, "I dwell awhile in tents below, and gladly wander to and fro." Not even when speaking is he so joyous as when traveling. It is a happy circumstance, therefore, that attention to official duties has not impaired a pleasure which had become habitual. Of the 310 days succeeding his installation he was absent from Washington 72, and journeyed 31,800 miles. These trips may be classified as Official, Political, Personal, and Commercial, as follows:

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March.
Chicago—Conference with Gov. Deneen.....Political.
" Irish Fellowship Club banquet.....Personal.
Springfield—Address to Legislature.....Political.
Lincoln—Birthday banquet .....Personal.
Des Moines—Complimentary banquet.....Personal.
Trenton—Board of Trade banquet.....Political.

April.
Philadelphia—Association dinner .....Political.
Sacramento—Conferences with Legislature .....Official.

May.
Baltimore—Society dinner .....Personal.
New York—Peace banquet.....Official.
Harrisburg—Address to Legislature.....Political.
New York—Association banquet.....Personal.

June.
Pittsburg—Dinner to Ambassador Guthrie.....Official.
Hampton Roads—Welcoming Brazilian Minister.....Official.
New York—Farewell to Brazilian Minister.....Official.

July.
Ashville—Visiting friends .....Personal.
Hendersonville—Impromptu speech .....Personal.
Mountain Lake Park—Chautauqua lecture.....Commercial.
Winona—Chautauqua lecture .....Commercial.
Plymouth—Chautauqua lecture .....Commercial.
New Hope—Chautauqua lecture .....Commercial.
Kennett Square—Chautauqua lecture .....Commercial.
Belair—Chautauqua lecture .....Commercial.

August.
In and about Washington.

September.
Maine—Campaign speeches (two days) .....Political.
Salisbury—Chautauqua lecture .....Commercial.
Media—Chautauqua lecture .....Commercial.
Crisfield—Chautauqua lecture .....Commercial.
Phœnixville—Chautauqua lecture .....Commercial.
Phœnixville—Chautauqua lecture .....Commercial.
Woodbury—Chautauqua lecture .....Commercial.
Charleston—Chautauqua lecture .....Commercial.
Woodstock—Chautauqua lecture .....Commercial.
Staunton—Chautauqua lecture .....Commercial.
Charlottesville—Chautauqua lecture .....Commercial.
Culpeper—Chautauqua lecture.....Commercial.
Warrenton—Chautauqua lecture .....Commercial.

October.
New Jersey—Campaign speeches.....Political.
Maryland—Campaign speeches .....Political.

November.
In Washington.

December.
Miami—Holiday vacation (7 days).....Personal.

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January.

Kansas City—	Speaking for	Administration	.....Political.
Topeka—	"	"	.....Political.
Lincoln—	"	"	.....Political.
Chicago—	"	"	.....Political.
Toledo—	"	"	.....Political.

Total number of speeches, 43; Official, 4; Political, 13; Personal, 8; Commercial, 18.

Days absent, 72; on Official and Political business (including eight days in California) approximately 37; in Personal and Commercial business approximately 35.

This classification is not exact, of course. Mr. Bryan himself would experience difficulty in distinguishing between some of his speeches as "Political"—*i. e.*, on behalf of the Administration—and "Personal." He also made several addresses, not included above, in California, in New Jersey, in Maryland, and in Maine. But the record of time utilized is substantially correct. And the net outcome is that out of 310 days Mr. Bryan has appropriated to his own use but 35, or less than one day a week. This effectually disposes of the heedless, though common, accusation that he has disregarded his obligations as a public servant.

The question of propriety remains. Here have developed two bases of criticism: one that a Secretary of State ought not to strive for personal gain under any circumstances; the other that the environment and professional association imposed upon a public performer are unbecoming and tend to detract from the dignity which a high official is expected to sustain. With respect to the former it must be confessed that Mr. Bryan's explanations are not conterminous. Replying on September 9th to an inquiry from a Paris newspaper, he said:

> For many years past I have lectured to Chautauqua associations. I fail to see why I should give them up now that I am Secretary of State. President Wilson does not disapprove.
>
> It is true that my lectures are interspersed between various "turns," but these are necessary to hold audiences during morning, afternoon, and evening sessions.
>
> I speak on educational subjects only. It is for this object that I give the lectures, not for a lucrative end.

When addressing his constituents in the West, however, he made no reference to his educational purpose, but under the title "Making a Living" he set forth the reasons why he had found it necessary to augment his income, in these words:

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When I announced that I found it necessary to supplement my official income and that I would turn to the lecture platform as the most natural as well as an entirely legitimate means of earning what additional income I needed, the question was at once asked, "Why is Mr. Bryan unable to live upon a salary of $12,000 a year?"

It ought to have occurred to any one who was tempted to ask the question that the question is not whether a Cabinet officer could live on $12,000 a year if he had nothing to consider except the expenses attendant upon living in Washington, but whether he could add the expense of official life to his other expenses and meet them all out of his salary.

Every man who has reached a position where he is likely to be appointed to a high office has assumed obligations which cannot be suspended when he enters office. My obligations to church, charity, education, and for my insurance cannot be discontinued. They amount to more than $6,800 per year, and these, though the largest, and by no means all, will absorb more than half the salary which I receive.

He added that he would not advocate increasing the salary of a Secretary of State, despite the fact that "the position carries with it more entertainment than any other in the Cabinet," and noted with satisfaction that he had been able "to lay aside some money each year for the past seventeen years," but he had "planned to forego for the next four years any additions" to his accumulations. This he was glad to do in appreciation of the opportunity accorded him by the President to render service to his country. In a word, he would divide the expense.

The professional association enforced upon the Secretary of State as a Chautauqua speaker is indicated by the following advertisement:

TEN BIG DAYS

AFTERNOON AND NIGHT—TWENTY RICH, ROYAL SESSIONS—LITERARY, MUSICAL, ENTERTAINING, INSTRUCTIVE, DEVOTIONAL, INSPIRATIONAL, AND LIFE BUILDING—UNDER THE GREAT PAVILION—OUT IN THE OPEN—NEXT TO NATURE'S HEART.

New York City Marine Band.
Avon Sketch Club.
English Opera Quintet.
Neapolitan Troubadors.
William Jennings Bryan.
Elliot A. Boyl.
Sears, the Taffy Man.
Lorenzo Zwickey.
Ed. Amhurst Ott.

ADULTS, TWO DOLLARS. CHILDREN, ONE DOLLAR.
COME ONE! COME ALL!

The performances are invariably unexceptionable in character and fully justify the exuberant announcements.

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It is readily imagined, in the instance noted, that music was furnished by the band, the opera quintet, and the troubadours; entertainment by the agile sketch club, Mr. Boyl, and the Taffy man; and instruction by Mr. Zwickey and Mr. Ott; thus leaving the devotional, inspirational, and life-building to Mr. Bryan, whose pre-eminence calls for a special introduction, such as, for example, that of Mr. Alexander Harrington, Principal of the High School of Seaford, Maryland, who spoke as follows:

> Not words, but deeds—lasting deeds for the uplift of humanity—constitute the record of William Jennings Bryan. Our Secretary of State stands for all that is best and truest in the advancement of civic righteousness. And with such men as William Jennings Bryan directing the affairs of this glorious nation of ours, there will be no place where only darkness reigns, for Mr. Bryan has said, "Let there be light, and there was light."

Whereupon, we read:

> Mr. Bryan appears, accompanied by a boy bearing an immense block of ice. "There are two sentiments in the audience—one enthusiasm over Mr. Bryan, the other curiosity about the ice." The speaker is clad in black alpaca, and white shirt and collar. Last year, his story was of the "strategy of privilege" in the Chicago and the Baltimore conventions. But his repertory is large, and his various addresses not mutually exclusive throughout. "As he continues, the peak of his head glows under the canvas roof, yellow with heat, just over him, and he spreads one hand on the block of ice and then passes the chilled hand slowly over his head again and again. At the end of an hour and a half, Bryan and the ice disappear, and the orchestra resumes with 'Madame Sherry.'"

Admitting, as of course we must, that the appearance of a Secretary of State in this particular rôle is without precedent, we nevertheless perceive little occasion for the severe criticism to which Mr. Bryan has been subjected, except perhaps as a matter of taste. We feel by no means certain that some of the great lawyers whom he succeeded have not, through the giving of counsel, profited privately as he profits publicly. Moreover, if our memory is not at fault, so firm sticklers for propriety as George F. Edmunds and Roscoe Conkling did not refrain from the practice of law while serving as Senators, and at this moment several distinguished members of Congress derive handsome incomes from their professional activities. Quite likely it is that the aristocratic senior Senator from Massachusetts or the austere Mr. Root might appear out of place sandwiched between the troubadours and Mr. Ott and speaking for hire,

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but such propinquity fetches no embarrassment to Mr. Bryan. He is a democrat as well as a Democrat, and loves the common people as they in turn love him better, with the possible exception of Speaker Clark, than any other American now in public life.

Nevertheless, in view of all circumstances, prejudices, and the like, we are indisposed to combat Mr. Bryan's reported determination to visit the chancelleries of Europe for the purpose of promulgating his views upon universal amity. Though wholly sophisticated and inclined to be skeptical, it by no means follows that they might not succumb to his homiletical words and winning ways. Parenthetically, we may remark that the Carnegie Foundation possesses ample funds and is far more liberal in rewarding statesmen who further the cause of peace than in granting pensions to pedagogues, however worthy, who voluntarily transfer their ambitions from the educational field to the wider sphere of State, National, and International politics.

Notwithstanding the mental depression which temporarily deprived his spirit of its normal buoyancy, Mr. Bryan continues to emit rays of happiness in every public utterance. He fairly revels in the gradual adoption of his many and varied theories of government, as well indeed he may. The Democratic platform of 1896 was constructed by a committee, but the platform of 1900 was Mr. Bryan's own, and from the creed then enunciated he has never deviated. Some clauses have been added, but none has been taken away. It is, then, with justifiable complacency that Mr. Bryan now contemplates certain definite results of his indefatigable striving, which may be summarized briefly as follows:

Filipino independence. Contrary to the advice of all former Governors of the islands, control of the legislature has been vested in the natives—the first long step toward complete independence.

Free wool and free sugar. Incorporated in the Tariff Bill against the judgment of Mr. Underwood and Chairman Fitzgerald.

Inflation of the currency through issuance of government securities. Whatever benefits may accrue from the recent Act, all agree that a certain amount of inflation is inevitable and that the danger of gold disappearing from the country is not ignorable.

Popular election of Senators. Adopted.

Income taxation. Adopted.

Primary elections by the States. Substantially accomplished.

Publication of ownership of newspapers. Enforced by law.

Anti-trust legislation designed specifically to compel competition. In progress.

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Department of Labor. Provided.

Exclusion of Asiatics. Pending.

Government ownership. Practically assured in Alaska and urged by the Postmaster-General upon a huge scale throughout the country.

Restriction of importation of labor by arbitrary legislation. Imminent.

Admission of New Mexico and Arizona. Granted.

Appointments to office based upon "ascertained fitness," rather than under the merit system. Illustrated, despite President Wilson's "warm advocacy and support of Civil Service Reform," in the selection of Ministers to Latin America.

Insistence upon "the consent of the governed" throughout the Western Hemisphere and application of the principle of *caveat emptor* to Americans owning properties in other countries. Witness Mexico.

Initiative and referendum. Adopted in part.

Free coinage of silver. Abandoned for the present because of changed conditions, but still held to be sound financial doctrine.

Clearly, here is no small realization on the part of one who rides behind. If Mr. Wilson be, as assuredly he is, the Joshua, Mr. Bryan is none the less undeniably the Moses, of Democracy. We would not, however, deprive him of the satisfaction which he manifests at times in likening his colleague to Saul of Tarsus, who saw a great light, "and immediately there fell from his eyes as it had been scales." Nor could we, in view of the record, deny the faithfulness of his own resemblance to Joseph, as depicted by himself in an eloquent lecture reported as follows:

After others had called him a dreamer, Mr. Bryan reminded them with inimitable skill that the Bible tells of dreamers, and that among the conspicuous was Joseph. How his brothers saw him coming from afar and said, "Behold, the dreamer cometh!" How they plotted to kill him, but sold him to the merchants who carried him into Egypt, and when time went on and a famine came and the brethren had to go down to Egypt to buy corn they found the dreamer there—*AND THE DREAMER HAD THE CORN.*

Whatever the future may hold in store for Mr. Bryan, his busy past at least is fixed in history and his seat in the second saddle seems to be secure; so now, if the yodlers have quite finished, we shall, pending the imminent arrival of Mr. Ott, take great pleasure in introducing to your kind attention:

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

LAST IN WAR, FIRST IN PEACE, SAFE IN THE HEARTS OF HIS COUNTRYMEN.

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THE HONOR OF THE NATION

THERE need be no misunderstanding with respect to the proposed repeal of the Canal-Tolls Exemption Act, and there should be no humbug in dealing with the subject. The facts are plain enough. The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901 provides explicitly that

> the Canal shall be free and open to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations observing these rules, on terms of entire equality, so that there shall be no discrimination against any such nation, or its citizens or subjects, in respect of the conditions or changes of traffic, or otherwise.

To maintain that this really means "all nations except the United States" is sheer subterfuge. If this had been the intent, the purpose could and would have been expressed clearly.

Nor is there any room for doubt as to the position of the Democratic party, whose representatives in Baltimore unanimously declared:

> We favor the exemption from tolls of American ships engaged in coastwise trade passing through the Panama Canal.

It is wholly idle to argue that this straightforward declaration is negatived by another plank which vaguely denounces the granting of subsidies. It is equally absurd, moreover, to deny the binding force of the pledge upon the ground that it was inserted in the platform surreptitiously. The provision was debated fully in committee and was as clearly understood by the convention as any other.

Nor is there the slightest basis for the assertion that the matter escaped Mr. Wilson's attention or that he was misled. He both understood and approved, when he said in a public speech on August 15th:

> One of the bills, just passed by Congress, provides for free tolls for American ships through the canal, and prohibits any ship from passing through the canal which is owned by any American railway company. You see the object of that, don't you? We don't want the railways to compete with themselves; because we understand that kind of competition. We want the water carriage to compete with the land carriage, so as to be perfectly sure that you are going to get better rates around by the canal than you would across the continent.

Whether or not the plank was proposed by Senator O'Gor-

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man at the instigation of Mr. Lewis Nixon, the shipbuilder, is immaterial. It was accepted by Mr. Bryan in furtherance of his general crusade against the railroads and was exploited by Mr. Wilson in consonance with his insistence upon enforced competition. The purpose of both Mr. Wilson and Mr. Bryan and of both the committee and the convention was to win votes for the National ticket.

President Wilson now says:

> With regard to the question of canal tolls, my opinion is very clear. The exemption constitutes a very mistaken policy from every point of view. It is economically unjust; as a matter of fact it benefits for the present, at any rate, only a monopoly.

As to this we are uninformed. The economic injustice, except perhaps as to the railroads, is not apparent, and, if evidence has been adduced showing that the various shipping concerns constitute a monopoly, the fact has escaped our attention. In any case, surely the injustice is no greater and the monopoly is no stronger than they were when the platform was adopted or when the candidate made his approving speech. We find here small occasion for reversal of position.

But Mr. Wilson continues:

> It seems to me in clear violation of the terms of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty. There is, of course, much honest difference of opinion as to the last point, as there is, no doubt, as to the others; but it is at least debatable, and if the promises we make in such matters are debatable, I for one do not care to debate them. I think the country would prefer to let the question arise as to its whole-hearted purpose to redeem its promises in the light of any reasonable construction of them rather than debate a point of honor.

Here the President is upon high and firm ground. With a single blow he demolishes all specious arguments. A point of National honor cannot be debated; it must be heeded at whatever cost of consistency or material advantage. That is all there is of it; but that is enough. It is neither needful nor honorable to plead ignorance or to attempt disingenuous explanations. Mr. Wilson makes frank and manly acknowledgment of error and appears at his very best in so doing. The Democratic party must follow his lead and repeal the faithless provision or be utterly discredited in the eyes of this and every other civilized country.

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THE COLONEL IN CHILE

If any argument were needed to show the desirability of making amends as promptly as may be to Colombia for the great wrong inflicted upon her by our government, it is afforded by the report in the *West Coast Leader*, of Lima, of Colonel Roosevelt's reception in Chile. The crowd gathered at the station was so "eager to see the great statesman" that the police with difficulty cleared a small space for the reception committee, but "at last the supreme moment came and Colonel Roosevelt jumped down from his Pullman, while the band played the American and Chilean hymns."

Almost instantly, however, "the human multitude, showing marked hostility, shouted with all their might vivas!—to Mexico and Colombia, and Down with the Yankee Imperialism! This multitude followed the American ex-President all the way to the Hotel Oddo in Calle Ahumada and continued their hostile demonstrations until the police charged energetically and dispersed the populace." Immediately upon reaching the hotel Mr. Roosevelt stepped upon a balcony and, waving his sombrero, shouted, "Viva Chile," but won no response.

The government was most courteous, giving banquets and receptions in honor of the visitor, escorting him to military maneuvers, evolutions of the army aeroplanes, and, most delicately of all, purchasing and destroying the newspapers which published accounts of the hostile demonstration. "It is a well known fact," continues the correspondent, "that Chileans, from the wealthy and aristocratic man of affairs and society to the most humble roto, hate everything that is from or is related to the country of Uncle Sam. A proof of this is the tremendous newspaper campaigns carried out by the daily *La Razon* of this city, which for the last fifteen days has devoted itself mostly exclusively to publishing personal insults against Mr. Roosevelt, and to declaring itself bitterly against his policy and that of his country."

The fact that it was President Roosevelt who "took Panama" and boasted of his act doubtless accounts for much of the hostility manifested against him personally, but it is a significant circumstance that the many "Vivas Mexico" and "Vivas Huerta" plainly indicated bitter disapproval of our present attitude toward our stricken neighbor. Altogether the story makes most unpleasant reading.

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THE WORKING OF EQUAL SUFFRAGE

THE extraordinary uses to which the National platform of the dominant political party have been put of late call for more precise analysis and more extended consideration than can well be accorded in this number of THE REVIEW. In passing, however, while cheerfully heeding the call of consistency to indorse the Kansas farmer's opinion that "there's a mighty smart man in the White House," we cannot but question the sagacity of the President's response to the advocates of equal suffrage who sought his aid and uncommon counsel. To hold seriously, in view of certain unauthorized proposals already made to Congress, that he could not properly urge legislation not yet subjected to "organic consideration" seems altogether too much like shilly-shallying behind an unpetticoated platform.

Mr. Underwood defined the traditional Democratic position perfectly when he replied that all matters of the franchise were reserved to the States, and that, consequently, the suggestion of Federal action could not be entertained. Possibly Mr. Wilson felt that he could not well make this wholly natural and conclusive rejoinder while simultaneously he was demanding Presidential primaries, but if so the circumstance is unfortunate in consideration of the fact that more than one-sixth of the electoral vote in 1916 will come from States where women vote.

But it is not the political aspect of this incident, nor, indeed, the incident itself in its broader phase, that now engrosses our attention; it is the working of equal suffrage in actual practice as ascertained by an impartial investigating committee composed of twelve distinguished English ladies headed by Adeline, Duchess of Bedford, and the Marchioness of Salisbury. These ladies obtained letters of introduction to a representative selection of prominent citizens of the States concerned—clergy and ministers of different denominations, lawyers, educationalists, publicists, business men, former holders of public office, and the like, and a few eminent women; to all of whom a list of questions was forwarded, accompanied by the following appeal:

> Several Englishwomen who are much interested in the question of the enfranchisement of women are desirous of knowing how it works in the States of America where it has been put into operation.
>
> They hold very different views on this subject, some being in favor of

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the change and some against it, but they all wish to know the result in those countries where it has been tried.

They therefore beg that you will answer the questions on the inclosed paper, or as many of them as you can, and return it in the addressed envelope which is inclosed.

Sixty-three replies were received, and are summarized in the *Nineteenth Century* from the suffragist and anti-suffragist points of view by the Hon. Robert Palmer and Mr. A. MacCallum Scott, M. P., respectively. A rough classification shows forty-six favorable to equal suffrage, as against eight neutral, five vaguely unfavorable, and only four definitely hostile. This Mr. Palmer pronounces "a very striking result," showing that the principle "is passing from the realm of controversy to that of universal approval among those who have seen it at work." Following is a consensus of the replies under the seven headings into which the *questionnaire* was divided:

Q. 1. *Reasons for adoption.*

(*a*) Was it a party question?—A. Nowhere, except partially in California and Colorado.

(*b*) Was there militancy?—A. None anywhere.

(*c*) Where did the strength of the movement and opposition to it lie?—A. Strength mainly came from "moral" influences and women's clubs; opposition from saloons and machine politicians.

Q. 2. *Conditions.*

A. The qualifications are the same for men as for women; about fifteen per cent. fewer women are on the register, on an average; women are everywhere eligible to the legislature.

Q. 3. *How is the vote exercised?*

(*a*) What percentage polls?—A. About five per cent. fewer than men, on an average.

(*b*) Have women formed new parties?—A. Nowhere.

(*c*) Is the balance of existing parties altered?—A. No.

(*d*) Do wives vote with their husbands?—About half say "yes" and half "no"—clearly individuals vary.

(*e*) Has the female vote affected the character of candidates for offices?—Thirty-eight replies say "yes," often quoting instances. Thirteen say "no."

Q. 4. *How has equal suffrage affected women's position?*

(*a*) Has it caused ill-feeling between men and women?—Over fifty say "no"; three say "yes."

(*b*) Has it increased women's interest in politics?—Over fifty say "yes"; about six doubt it.

(*c*) Has it impaired their usefulness in the home?—Nearly fifty replies say "no"; eight say that in some cases it has. One picturesque answer perhaps hits the nail on the head in saying "your flannel-mouthed suffragist is not a homemaking woman at all." But after all it is the *agitation for* suffrage which breeds the flannel-mouthed type; the grant quiets them.

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Q. 5. Is there any agitation for its repeal?

A. None.

Q. 6. What is your general impression of the change?

A. This has already been summarized.

Q. 7. What legislation dealing with the following subjects has been passed since the women had the vote? Can the influence of the female vote be traced in any such legislation?

(*a*) Conditions of female labor.
(*b*) Protection of women and girls.
(*c*) Temperance.
(*d*) Education.
(*e*) Sanitation and milk.
(*f*) Industrial arbitration.
(*g*) Widows' pensions.
(*h*) Divorce.

Legislation on subjects *a, b,* and *g* is recorded in every suffrage State except Kansas, which had had no legislature since the grant, and "useful laws" have been passed in all of the States except Oregon and Arizona on subjects *a, b, c, d, e, f,* and *g*. The *questionnaire* selects the eight subjects on which it is thought women are most likely to use their votes. The replies from Washington and California, where three and two sessions, respectively, have been held since the grant of woman suffrage, show that the legislatures of both have already passed laws on seven out of those eight subjects in those sessions. On the "coincidence" theory the odds would be almost infinitely against such a thing happening; and when we find twenty-one answers from these two States affirming in unequivocal terms that these laws have been carried by means of the women's votes, no impartial mind can resist the conclusion that such is the truth. And in the still more extreme case of Oregon, where equal suffrage had been in force nine months, the only reply which deals with this part of the *questionnaire* enumerates laws of 1913 on subjects *a, b, e,* and *g,* and adds, "These were all due to the influence of women."

It may be further mentioned in this connection that on the only two of these eight topics on which reliable information covering all the States of the Union is to hand at the moment—namely, widows' pensions and the protection of girls by raising the age of consent to eighteen—the proportion of suffrage States which have legislated on these points is strikingly higher than that of non-suffrage States. Thus seventeen States altogether have widows' pension laws. Of these, six are suffrage States and enacted the laws since be-

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coming so, and eleven are non-suffrage. But the six are six out of nine (two of the remaining three having had equal suffrage less than a year), and the eleven are eleven out of thirty-nine. Similarly, of the nine suffrage States seven have raised the age of consent to eighteen since granting equal suffrage (an eighth having done so just before the grant), while of the non-suffrage States the figures for 1911–12 (the latest available) show that then only four out of thirty-nine had so raised it.

The eight neutral answers are perhaps the least instructive, as they come from those who either think it is too soon to judge, or from those who have not observed any results from the change which justify a definite opinion. Not one of them mentions a single evil result, or fear of any, from the grant of equal suffrage.

The answers classed as vaguely unfavorable read like those of men who were opposed to woman suffrage and still bear it a lingering grudge, but can find no definite charge to lay against it. Most of them describe themselves as neutral. The worst they can find to say are the following: "Personally I do not believe in women voting, but I believe we cannot help it." "Much freak legislation, possibly due to women's influence." "Nothing accomplished which could not have been done as well or better without suffrage." These are absolutely the three most unfavorable phrases in these answers, which can none of them allege any definite harm to have resulted from women's votes, while four of the five admit some definite good.

Of the four definitely anti-suffragist replies, the following is a fair example:

> I should say . . . that women's suffrage has not affected the situation in legislation at all. It has added an increased responsibility, which responsibility has, I think, *been well borne,* and it has sharpened animosities and lengthened them. Plainly speaking, the granting of the suffrage is an increase of the ignorant vote. *That it has not been so in Wyoming* is due to the fact that . . . there is a very high intellectual average among our women. The experience of Wyoming is no guarantee of the effect of suffrage where conditions are different.

"And this," remarks Mr. Palmer, "is what on a rough classification was set down as one of the four hostile replies! On second perusal, its place seems to be rather (unconsciously) among the most favorable. For here an

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obviously 'unfriendly witness' coming from the Eastern States (where he had not seen equal suffrage at work), full of prejudice against it, tries to answer that it has been a failure, and is inadvertently betrayed into admitting that it is a success, but hastens to add that it might very likely be a failure somewhere else. The rest of the replies are uniformly favorable."

He concludes with these words:

> Is not the matter quite fairly stated thus? If the women of England use their votes in the same kind of way and on the same kind of subjects as the women of these nine American States are stated to be using them, then the grant of woman suffrage will surely be a notable gain to England's welfare. And is there any ground whatever for supposing that they will use them otherwise or less sensibly? Let us leave it at that.

Mr. MacCallum Scott's summary differs in no material point from Mr. Palmer's. Indeed, the most noteworthy feature of both reviews is the scrupulous impartiality of admitted partisans as to matters of fact. But each is "of the same opinion still." Mr. Scott sums up as follows:

> The conclusion to which I have come after reading through all the answers is that women through their votes have had some influence, quite different from the moral influence which they exercise without the vote, upon legislation. It is difficult to define this influence precisely. Frequent reference is made to the manner in which "moral issues" appeal to women. I cannot accept the view occasionally expressed that women have "a somewhat higher moral standard" than men, but it is quite possible that, holding the same moral standard, they may give different effect to it in politics.
>
> I am impressed by several suggestions that women are much stricter and more ardent partisans than men; that they look to moral character in candidates rather than to ability; and that they have, in a greater degree than men, "a tendency to regulate morals by law." Men are on the whole more tolerant than women and inclined to allow a wider latitude of personal moral freedom so long as the rights of others are not interfered with. Women are, on the whole, more inclined to make their personal moral code a moral code imperative for others also, and to apply coercion to secure conformity.
>
> Coercive legislation, depending as it does upon the physical arm of the law for its enforcement, if it is to be effective, must have behind it the physical strength of the country. If the majority of men should be against it, if its chief support comes from women who, while unable as individuals to exercise physical coercion, are yet able, through the ballot-box, to evoke the physical arm of the law, then there is grave danger in extreme cases of a general conspiracy to evade the law. Authority, finding itself with a task beyond its power, will wink at the offenders. Law will fall into disrespect. There will gradually grow up a hypocritical feeling toward legislation. "What does it matter what they pass? Let them pass anything

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they like, and if we find it inconvenient we will evade it." If this became a general attitude it would destroy that sense of responsibility and of respect for law which is the firmest foundation for stable government.

Suffragists will take slight exception to an argument whose sole basis is vague apprehension that the enactment of better laws will imbue men as a sex class with a spirit of law-defiance. The plain logic of such reasoning is that it is not women, but men, who are unfitted to perform the duties of citizenship.

Taken as a whole, the result of the interesting inquiry constitutes a powerful backlog of evidence in favor of equal suffrage.

PERU FOR PERUVIANS

When General Huerta assumed control of the Mexican Government on February 23, 1913, he telegraphed to President Taft:

I have the honor to inform you that I have overthrown the government. The forces are with me, and from now on peace and prosperity will reign.

When Colonel Benavides assumed control of the Peruvian Government, eleven months later, Carlos Leguia telegraphed to his brother, Robert Leguia, Vice-President of Peru, then in London, as follows:

By the glorious action of the army we are free from Billinghurst, who is now in the penitentiary.

The revolutions were oddly analogous. Like the Mexicans, the Peruvians are nearly sixty per cent. Indian, the remainder being approximately twenty-five per cent. mestizos, four per cent. negroes and Chinese, and less than fourteen per cent. whites. Like the Mexicans, too, they have a Constitution which provides for full, fair, and free elections, which are never held because, also as in Mexico, the smallest proportion imaginable can read or write. In 1912, there was no result whatever at the polls, for the simple reason that mobs burned the ballot-boxes; whereupon the Congress duly elected Guillermo Billinghurst President. He, like Madero, was a reformer and possessed the advantage of exceptional experience as soldier, diplomat, legislator, and administrator. That he tried earnestly to give his country an honest and efficient government is the common report. Indeed, the only accusation published against him is that he " ignored

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the better class of people and drew around him people without social position who were ready to serve his will." Whereupon the "better," or ruling, class headed by the Leguias plotted to depose him. Colonel Benavides executed the plans formulated by Augusto Durand successfully, taking the capital by force of arms, putting the President in prison, and incidentally killing the Minister of War. He thereupon declared himself Provisional President and sought recognition from the United States of his *de facto* government, precisely as General Huerta had done. But there the parallel ends. Huerta was rejected; Benavides is accepted. It would seem, therefore, that we have, not a foreign policy, but foreign policies of varying consistency. But is this the fact?

The Administration's refusal to make explanation of any kind naturally has evoked much criticism from the Press, not of its action *per se,* with respect to Peru, but of its abrupt departure from the rule declared by the President to repudiate governments "stained by blood or supported by anything but the consent of the governed"; but for ourselves, we heartily applaud the President's attitude toward Peru for the same reason that we deplored his contrary position toward Mexico, viz., that it is no part of our business to say who shall or shall not be President of any country.

If it be maintained, as of course it may be with semblance of reason, that recognition of Benavides implies confession of error in refusing to recognize Huerta, then so much greater is the credit, and so much higher the honor, due the President for courageous and conscientious performance of distasteful duty.

Happily, in any case, we may safely regard the future of Peru as safe in the keeping of that time-honored diplomat of Democracy, the Honorable Benton McMillan, even though, as we are informed, he did have to consult an atlas in the Congressional Library to find out where the place was.

BACK TO PEORIA

Petersburg's loss is Peoria's gain. Brother Pindell remains at home, no less to the satisfaction of his countrymen than to the regret and sorrow of the President. The happy decision was reached while the Honorable Jay Hamilton Lewis was half seas' over the Atlantic, returning in triumph from astonished London and bewildered Paris.

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So the Russian Ministers guessed right, after all, when they could "scarcely believe that he will come here as Ambassador from the United States," and our own humble prognostication that President Wilson would not permit "the consummation of this absurd travesty" is fulfilled.

Not that we would suggest for a moment that Brother Pindell withdrew in conformity with an amendment to the original understanding reducing his tenure of office from one year to one week; not at all.

"When did you decide not to accept the appointment to Russia?" Mr. Pindell was asked.

"That really is a hard question to answer," he replied. "My conclusion in the matter was a slow mental development. The action of the Senate sub-committee to which my appointment was referred was so delayed by the illness of Senator Stone and by the rest of the Senate to finish the Currency Bill that I came to feel that the delay—the unavoidable unfortunate circumstances to which the appointment thus was subjected—prevented my going to Russia with the self-assurance that I desired if I would represent the administration as the President trusted me to do. Consequently the feeling grew on me that it was my duty, having been vindicated, to decline the ambassadorship. I felt that I ought not to go unless I could give the President the full benefit of my services. I thought that the long delay had prejudiced me, and with that feeling it seemed to me that my usefulness would be impaired."

The frankness and explicitness of this statement are equaled only by its reasonableness. Mental development is so slow at best that Charles Darwin himself, if fully apprised of all circumstances, could not have failed to marvel at its rapidity in this instance. Apologies, therefore, are unnecessary. Moreover, the official correspondence makes it clear that Brother Pindell's act was quite the reverse of involuntary. For the guidance of future historians we append the gracious and sympathetic communications which served, in the traditionally accurate words of Brother-Secretary Bryan, to "close the incident." Brother Pindell wrote first and as follows:

PEORIA, ILL., *January 28.*

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,—I deeply appreciate the honor you have done me in nominating me Ambassador to Russia and the very great compliment paid me by the Senate in confirming the nomination by unanimous vote. I had hoped and confidently expected when you asked me to accept the post that I could do so at once and take up the work at a very early date. I am, therefore, the more embarrassed to find that circumstances have arisen which will render it impossible for me to undertake the mission.

I have, as you know, been put in a very false light by certain gross misrepresentations in the public press; and, while it is true that these have

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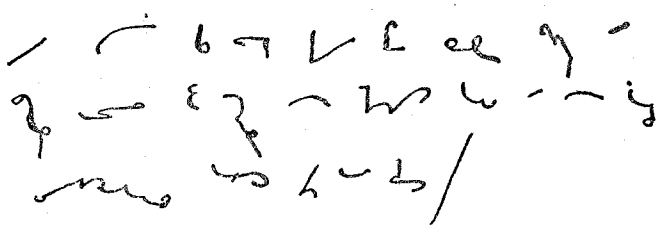
been cleared away and the nomination accepted in its true light by the Senate after a thorough and dispassionate investigation, I feel that it would be more delicate for me to decline the appointment than to accept it. No controversy of this kind should surround the appointment of an Ambassador to a country which cannot be expected to be familiar with the real circumstances as they are known at home. There should be nothing personal to talk about or explain there, as far as the Ambassador himself is concerned.

I beg, therefore, that, trusting me to be guided by my own instinct in this matter, you will accept my assurance of deep gratitude for the honor you have sought to do me, and permit me, with genuine regret, but with no hesitation of judgment, to decline the appointment.

With sentiments of distinguished consideration, believe me to be, Mr. President, Your obedient servant,

HENRY M. PINDELL.

That the President was dismayed we may well believe, but, seizing his pen with characteristic promptness and fortitude, he short-handed the following:



which, being interpreted, means:

Your letter does credit to your delicate sense of propriety and serves to increase, if that were possible, my admiration for you and my confidence in your eminent fitness for the mission which you now decline.

The President paused. Should he insist upon a patriotic sacrifice in the cause of common country and common counsel or should he concede the priority of high personal privilege? Sighing, he continued:

I can but yield to your judgment in the matter; because it is clear to me that feeling as you do, whether you are fully justified or not, you would not be comfortable or happy in the post. I, therefore, cannot insist. You will allow me, however, I hope, to express my deep regret. I know your quality so well and was so anxious to see you at St. Petersburg, that I feel a keen disappointment. It is only a very imperfect consolation that I may now again express my unqualified confidence in your ability, your character, your discretion, and your entire suitability for such a post. Cordially and sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

The future historian, in whose interest we are continuing to labor, will naturally link these personal dissertations,

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bologna-like, with the impassioned appeals of the Honorable Jay Hamilton Lewis already imperishably recorded[1] and thereby invite inevitable comparison. Sentimentally he will find little room for choice. Whatever the reference be, whether to the prospective joys of a little daughter or to the imperfect consolation of a saddened heart, a note of ineffable tenderness ripples zephyr-like through the entire galaxy. In stateliness and simplicity of diction, however, no less than in sweet reasonableness of spirit, the later contributions to this, our most dramatic of recent international performances, are incomparably superior. We like especially His Briefest Excellency's expression of feeling that "it would be more delicate"—instead, as some might have said, "less indelicate"—"for me to decline the appointment than to accept it." The concluding phrase, too—"With sentiments of distinguished consideration, believe me to be, Mr. President"—is, barring the excusable deletion of "dear" before "Mr.," perfect in form and indicative of complete, though perhaps recent, mastery of the language of polished diplomacy.

The President's style, in turn, is, as nearly ever, unexceptionable — no less clearly, cordially, and sincerely Brother Pindell's than Brother Pindell's own. The answer is, in effect, a certificate of character based upon the discretion which the recipient had politely but firmly manifested in response to the urgent and irresistible call of his delicate sense of propriety. As we remarked of the epistles of the Honorable Jay Hamilton Lewis, we "cannot recall a simpler, more straightforward, more definite, or in a way more touching transaction in American statecraft." What, then, is our amazement at beholding our discriminative neighbor, the *Sun*, depicting this correspondence as "an interchange of molasses"; as, indeed, "the last act and scene of a farce which no amount of deep gratitude, distinguished consideration, imperfect consolation, and unqualified confidence can dignify or excuse." If harsh and cruel words such as these be evidence of sophistication, praise God that we, in common with the Administration and Brother Pindell, still live and have our being in trustful ingenuousness!

And why should our other cultured and refined neighbor,

[1] See "The Case of Brother Pindell," NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, December, 1913, Vol. 198, No. 6.

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the *Evening Post,* say that "mystery ends in mystery" and then liken Brother Pindell to "a Cheshire cat of diplomacy," when everybody knows he is an original Wilson man? Such misrepresentation, in our view, is no better than Carabaon and deserves a very serious reprimand.

Even more reprehensible is the conduct of our up-town neighbor, the *Times,* in directing attention to the fact that Brother Pindell's letter, although dated January 28th, was not made public until the day after "The Diplomats of Democracy" were introduced to the reading public on February 1st. But, adds the Washington correspondent of the *Times* under date of February 2d:

> The letter is said not to have reached the White House until this morning. Mr. Pindell was in Washington last week. He left his hotel here Friday night. He is in St. Louis now.
>
> The general opinion here is that Mr. Pindell resigned, not on account of Colonel Harvey's statement, but because of information of the same character as information which Colonel Harvey incorporated in his article. This information included an expression of sentiment said to be prevailing in Ministerial circles in St. Petersburg, which Colonel Harvey summed up in this sentence:
>
> "This, of course, is a polite way of saying that, if Mr. Pindell should appear, his credentials would be accepted and he would be ignored."

We perceive no mystery here. True, time was when one might reasonably have expected that a letter posted in Peoria would reach Washington within five days, but that was before Mr. Burleson began to make ten millions a year —or is it a month?—out of the parcels post. Moreover, how could Brother Pindell have mailed the letter in Peoria on Wednesday when, according to the *Times,* he did not leave Washington until Friday night? The logic of the situation is so apparent and so clearly confounds the *Times* that, for various but sufficient reasons and regardless of an embarrassment that we feel to be almost visible, we shall offer no explanations.

We do, however, make contrite acknowledgment of error in saying that Brother Pindell's failure to relieve the President by withdrawing his name betrayed "a deficiency in mental and moral perceptiveness which leaves no doubt of his unfitness to serve as an Ambassador of the United States to another Power of equal rank, dignity, and national sensitiveness." That seemed to be true enough when written, but its lack of justification was made apparent

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by His Excellency's prompt withdrawal on the day after publication. For ourselves, then, we would make amends, first by frankly and sincerely applauding Brother Pindell's manly action and, secondly, by inviting him to include his newspaper in the Administration clubbing proposition now being negotiated between the *Commoner* and THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. (This, of course, upon the understanding that his arrangement with postmasters to become agents still stands.)

As for the President—at the risk of seeming presumptuous we feel in duty bound to suggest that the very least he can do, in grateful recognition of the faithfulness and originality of Brother Pindell as a Wilson man, is to ask the little daughter to the White House and thereby, if not wholly perfect, at least enhance, his own insufficient consolation.

COMMENT

The country may draw a long breath. The Postmaster-General is *not* going to resign. The startling rumor appeared in the columns of the Houston *Telegram,* in connection with a report that Senator Culberson was to retire and that Assistant-President House was hastening to Austin by the most speedy parcels post to arrange for Mr. Burleson's succession and incidentally for his own election as Governor of Texas. The editor of *Texas Topics* promptly communicated with the Assistant President in New York and received a reply which, although marked "Personal," he felt at liberty "under existing political conditions in the State" to make public. It ran succinctly as follows:

> Culberson is not to resign; Burleson does not desire to be Senator, and I would not accept the office [of Governor] if it were tendered to me unanimously.

The authoritativeness of this statement is beyond question. Mr. House continues to be the most trusted counselor of Senator Culberson, whom he wished to see nominated for President, notwithstanding the fact that subsequent to the Baltimore convention he thoughtfully hitched his wagon to another star. Mr. Burleson, too, was Mr. House's personal appointee in the Cabinet, and answers promptly when the bell rings. As for himself, it was quite absurd to imagine that he would sacrifice his present exalted station

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for a mere Governorship. Nevertheless, it is a relief to have official, though somewhat curt, information to the effect that Mr. Burleson, having put the country on a paying basis, is to continue as the chief source of National revenues, pending the sale of two thousand millions of two-per-cent. bonds at a premium for the purchase of telegraphs, telephones, and wireless aerials.

The bye-election in the Second Congressional of Iowa is not wholly devoid of significance. Results in recent years follow:

	Democratic	Republican	Progressive
1908	21,050	22,915	———
1910	19,815	16,971	———
*1912	19,371	8,303	13,602
1914	12,285	10,435	3,672

* For President. No Congressional contest.

The points of interest are: That the Democratic majority of three thousand in 1910 has disappeared; that Progressives are returning to the Republican fold so rapidly that the result in this district next November must be considered doubtful; but that, despite a shift of balance between the Republicans and Progressives, the Democrats still retain a plurality. Clearly, if this swinging back of Progressives should maintain throughout the country in the autumn, the Democrats will lose many seats, although perhaps not the seventy-four which the opposition must gain to control the House. The most important fact is that the chief Democratic losses and the corresponding Republican gains were made in the agricultural counties, indicating dissatisfaction of the farmers with tariff legislation embracing free wool. This is a most disquieting symptom from an Administration standpoint.

"It has been the practice of American Presidents," says the New York *American*, "to select Ambassadors from men deserving recognition because of (1) eminence won in private station, (2) distinguished party services, and (3) some personal service to the President or a member of his official family." The requisite qualifications comprise wide knowledge of public questions, ability to speak the language of the country to which one is assigned, income sufficient to main-

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tain a suitable establishment, acquaintance with social usages, tact, affability, and an accomplished wife. It is also highly desirable at times to select and despatch one whose absence from the country in an official capacity would be more advantageous to the Administration than his presence at home in a position of independence. In view of these requirements and all circumstances, we respectfully suggest that an ideal appointment of Ambassador to France would be that of Mr. William Randolph Hearst.

Speaker Clark's prediction at last night's banquet that his fellow-guest, Senator Borah of Idaho, would be the next Republican candidate for the Presidency is not regarded here as a mere after-dinner platitude. The suggestion that Mr. Borah should be nominated by the Republican party in 1916 has been the subject of much discussion among Republicans recently. —*New York Times.*

Official information percolates slowly. If the reader will turn to the editorial page of *Harper's Weekly* of March 8, 1913, he will find the following:

A PREDICTION.

We predict to-day—May 17th, 1913—that the next Republican candidate for President of the United States will be William E. Borah, of Idaho.

Even at that early day the finger of Fate was pointing unmistakably and unerringly.

Speaks Secretary Redfield:

Aye, but you say, look at the depression. Well, look at it, look at it sanely, without passion and without prejudice. What do you see? But before you answer let me ask a second question: "Where are you looking?" Get the horizon big enough, else your picture will be but partial and may mislead. Where, then, is trade depression found? In India, in Argentina, in Brazil, in Germany, in England. Where is it least? In America. Where is the rising tide from such depression as exists felt first and most? Here, in America.

Aye, but we have looked—at the commercial reports—and find that England's trading in 1913 was the greatest in her history, and, aye, we have listened, too, by the sad sea waves and have heard but the ebb and flow of empty words.

This from the Associated Press:

VIENNA, *January 26th.*—The American Ambassador, Frederic Courtland Penfield, has at last succeeded in finding a home for the American Em-

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bassy. Negotiations were concluded to-day for the rental of a mansion belonging to Baron Louis Rothschild in the fashionable Alleegasse. The property includes one of the finest private parks in Vienna and adjoins the palace of Archduke Leopold Salvator. The Ambassador hopes to enter into possession in March of what is believed to be the most commodious and stately residence occupied by any of the American representatives in Europe.

Of course. And why not? Quinine is a necessity.

There was one sentence in the latest message read by the President to Congress that ought to take the conceit out of the politicians. It was to the effect that legislation was rather interpretative than original.—*Minneapolis Journal.*

Likewise political platforms not only interpretative, but susceptible to interpretation, compared with which a rubber band is quite devoid of elasticity.

Comparative quiet reigns at present, but it cannot be said that the revolution is over, as Theodore has set up a provisional government of his own less than fifty miles from the capital.—*Despatch from Hayti.*

We knew it; but how on earth, under the sun or over the sea, did he get there?

"Sir Herbert Samuel informs me,"—POSTMASTER-GENERAL BURLESON.

It is indeed a privilege and a gracious act to knight a fellow-official. Mr. Samuel will rejoice to learn that it was not necessary to let George do it.

Secretary-of-the-Navy Josephus Daniels has consistently declined to make any statement for publication.—*The Commoner.*

What, again?

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CAN REPUBLICANS AND PROGRESSIVES UNITE?

BY PETER S. GROSSCUP

We have gotten far enough now into the Wilson Administration to see that Mr. Wilson is not merely the titular leader of his party (as Mr. Taft was accustomed to call himself) but the actual leader; that his leadership, though employing patronage and especially the withholding of patronage as one of its auxiliaries, does not rest chiefly on the power of patronage, but is an intellectual leadership; and that through this leadership there has been imposed on the old Democratic party a political philosophy from which it cannot now step aside, and upon which it must stand or fall in the elections to come. That there is beginning to develop throughout the country a distinctive fear that from an economic standpoint the philosophy may not be sound philosophy—fear from what is already happening to our industrial activity, and what is likely to happen—is equally clear. Mr. Wilson has been gathering around this new economic standard a large part of his regular democratic following, and to make up and maintain a majority he has never yet obtained is bidding for followers outside of the old Democratic party. That standard, scarcely put into practice, begins already to show signs that the result may be a substantial industrial recession. The intuition of the country is already stirred with the fear that it may not be adapted to America or to the new industrial era in which we live. And out of intuition, if the fruit borne is what is feared, will quickly come an opposition to the Wilson idea, potential enough to succeed if wisely utilized. Can common ground be found on which to mobilize that potential opposition into a united and effective *fighting opposition?*

We have gotten far enough along, too, in the development

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of what is still a badly divided three-fifths of the voters who did not vote for Wilson to realize that the word "prosperity," the time-honored slogan of the old Republican party, and the phrase "social justice," the newer slogan of the new Progressive party, each pushed to the front *separately* and apart from the other, cannot become the basis of such a united opposition. To bring about a united opposition it is not enough to offer a programme based on material prosperity only (food and shelter only) rejecting everything else as a mere "idiosyncrasy" of the people; the new progressive spirit will not stand for that. Nor is it enough, on the other hand, to offer a programme made up of mere ideals of social betterment, rejecting everything else as the "commercialism" of the age; the common sense of the country, seeing that we must live even before we can begin to do good, will not stand for that. Nor is it enough that what is happening and what is liable to happen in our industrial activities is calculated to inspire a common fear of the Wilson philosophy; to successfully fight there must be a united opposing army—a common political purpose—that has a standard of philosophy *of its own* to oppose to the Wilson standard. For the battle when it comes cannot be a battle of interests only; it must be a battle of ideas also.

What, then, in its concrete essence is this Wilson philosophy? Is it, fundamentally, right or wrong? And if wrong can an opposing philosophy, fundamentally right, be mobilized, that will appeal not only to the interests of men and women, but to their ideas as well. These are the preliminary questions to be answered, to which Republicans and Progressives alike, before a final answer is made, should bring the application of all the political common sense they possess.

Mr. Wilson has phrased his political philosophy the "New Freedom." That indisputably is a catchy political slogan. His favorite word is that he comes "to emancipate." That, since the Republican Lincoln gave it a meaning in American history, is a catchy political slogan also. The "emancipation" he holds out is escape from industrial bondage—industrial room for everybody; a very attractive prospect if his philosophy could accomplish it. But where will that philosophy actually carry us? Which way, in those concerns of actual life that come nearest our

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doors, is it headed? What, in its application, not to an ideal world, but to actual present-day conditions, does it mean? *Measured not by words, but by actualities,* what does this "New Freedom" portend?

But let us not, in answering these inquiries, be sidetracked by collateral matters such as the existence or extent of "invisible government." A rich mine of public interest, some of it justified by actualities, some imagined only, has been opened up by the Progressives in that phrase. Mr. Wilson does not himself use that phrase—he doubtless regards it as already politically copyrighted. But he utilizes as a political asset the conditions, both actual and imagined, out of which the phrase arises. And to the extent that he thus seeks to drive out corrupt interference in government by those who interfere only for selfish ends, he is entitled to the approval of the American public. But that is not what he means, or wishes us to understand he means, by the phrase "The New Freedom." His new freedom, he himself indicates, is more fundamental than that. The so-called "invisible government" is a strictly political, or rather moral, aspect of government. This new freedom, as Mr. Wilson points out, goes to the *economic and industrial conditions* of the times, of which invisible government, the unsatisfactory distribution of prosperity, and the consequent unrest are but the logical outcroppings. It is from an economic or industrial "bondage" that his new freedom proposes to emancipate us.

Now the economic postulate on which this Wilson Freedom centers is, that industry and commerce are now just what they were a hundred years ago, a matter of *single-handed combat* between man and man; not a matter, even in part, of combat between the men of one nation and the men of another, but single-handed combat between man and man, *the world over,* without concern on the part of the nation of whether a particular combatant lives on one side or the other of the line that divides the nation from other nations. And as a corollary to this postulate, a further postulate: that the sole function of the nation, even among those at home, is to see to it that whatever may be the fortunes of the war going on between those at home and those abroad, *the war among those at home shall go on* nevertheless—and that, too, without regard to what is taking place, in the way of organization or co-operation,

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among our competitors abroad. That is the Wilson idea—competition with the whole world, so framed that the competitors on our side the line can call to their aid none of the industrial forms of organization that are utilized on the other side—no national solicitude, *put into the shape of law,* for the man at home, even against the man abroad—the man at home prohibited from utilizing, even under national regulation, the forms of business organization employed by those abroad. Hence the newly enacted tariff—its protective features are confessedly only to make the slide down-hill not too precipitous—the ultimate purpose of which is to put men engaged in industry at home on the same competitive level with men engaged in industry abroad. Hence, too, his so-called anti-trust policy, foreshadowed in the New Jersey "seven-sisters bill," the necessary effect of which will be to prevent men engaged in industry at home from utilizing those forms of organization under which alone they can successfully meet, on a common competitive level, the forms of organization utilized by men engaged in industry abroad. And hence, too, his diplomatic policy—he calls it the recall of dollar diplomacy—which leaves the American who has ventured to extend our industry abroad without even the prestige of his country behind him—the only competitor in those fields behind whom the country to which he belongs does not stand. And that this emasculation of the nation, *as a nation,* of every function aside from strictly political functions should be entirely consistent, Mr. Wilson's solicitude for the betterment of social conditions begins and ends in "solicitude," leaving all practical measures in that behalf, except within the narrowest interpretation of the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution, to the several actions of the States. To sum it up, Mr. Wilson is for "competition"; but in his concept of competition there is no such thing as national lines; no such thing as "our own country"; no such thing as the nation taking any hand in the industrial concerns of its people except as policeman to sternly keep the combatants to the fight until one or the other is finished. In other words, we must return, so far as industrial organization goes, to the primitive concept of man against man, and thus, at the very outset put out of the running ourselves in this modern world, challenge the world to a free-for-all race for our own markets.

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There was at the beginning of our history a political school that tried to eliminate the nation as a constructive force, of any consequence, in our political life. It took almost a century to eliminate that school. The great deed of Lincoln and the Civil War—even greater than the emancipation of the slaves—was that they made us a nation. This new industrial philosophy is that old political philosophy transferred from the then new political conditions to the now new industrial conditions. The central thought in each is the same—the nation as a *constructive* force in the life of the people minimized—a return after more than a century of our growth, that measured by industrial change has been longer than all the other centuries put together, to a form of suppression of the nation, as an industrial agency in the lives of the people, that, had it been followed politically, as the earlier school on which it is modeled would have followed it, would have made Lincoln an impossible figure in our history.

Now against this Wilson idea what shall be the opposing idea? Plainly, it would seem, to take direct and downright issue with it. Against this Wilson idea that the nation, as a nation, has no *constructive* function in the concerns of our people other than politics let us put forth as *our* faith that the constructive function of the nation reaches those concerns of the people that lie immediately at their doors as well as their politics—that this thing we call the "nation" is not a mere term in geography; not a mere organized protection against *armed* invasion from the outside; not a mere police officer between what otherwise would be unrelated warring individuals. The roots of the nation sink deeper than that. Its solicitude extends to every home in the land and to every condition that affects that home; to every business in the land, and to every condition that affects industry and business, for on these the conditions of the home rest; to every farm in the land; and one of its supreme functions is to see to it that this solicitude is translated, fully and always, into help and action. What is the matter with America, at the present moment, is not that, beginning with the administration of McKinley, and continuing through the administrations of Roosevelt and Taft, the farmers were able to pay off their debts and lay away a big surplus in the banks; nor that business became big; nor that the markets of America were held by the enterprise

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of America. The only thing the matter with America is that during this extraordinary period of industry the power of the nation to correct the accompanying abuses was not fully evoked and fully put into action. There were, undoubtedly, excessive profits in certain quarters fostered by the rigidity of the then existing tariff laws; a permanent tariff board, with power to raise and lower tariffs, as the Interstate Commerce Commission can raise or lower railway rates, so as to keep the profits reasonable without surrendering our markets to the foreign competitor, would cure that. Under a free-trade policy the general effect will be that the competitor abroad, when he undersells, will *just* undersell the competitor at home—will have what is called in poker "the edge" on the man at home; a permanent tariff board with power to adjust rates would keep that "edge" at home, in favor of the man at home; in either case the cost to the consumer being about the same. There were, undoubtedly, consolidations of business that in too many instances divided to the organizers, in advance, the advantages that ought to have gone to the country at large in the way of reduced prices; a permanent industrial board, with power over the organization of interstate corporations and their securities, and some of the visitorial powers exercised by the German Government over the great German enterprises, would go far to cure that. There have been, undoubtedly, accumulations of private fortunes that ought not to have taken place. The growth of the country's wealth has not been as widely distributed in the permanent form of individual interest in property as both justice and republican security would dictate. But with eight and forty States each granting charters to interstate business, and claiming control, some without any solicitude respecting security in the matter of corporate property—the nation standing wholly aloof—is it any wonder that the average man has stood aloof, also, from any proprietary interest in the new great domain, except as he has gone to the so-called money trust, the only winnowing process at hand, to winnow out for him the good from the bad? Hence the money trust itself—built upon what the people at large have saved but have held aloof from *directly* investing. An intelligent national corporation policy would go far to cure that, and could be made to stimulate immeasurably the beginning belief that association between employers and

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employees as common proprietors is better than industrial war. And the moral dividend owed by prosperity to humanity, in the way of bettered conditions of labor, has by no means been adequately met. The nation, as a nation, has powers in that direction that have not as yet been more than touched.

But because these abuses have arisen shall the function of the nation in the lives of our people be sunk to the level of a mere protector against *armed* invasion from without, and a mere police officer within? Mr. Wilson and his philosophy in effect say Yes; and that is the issue he tenders the country. Because there are places inside the structure where the structure is wrong, he would tear it down, leaving our people to camp industrially on the plains of the world and on the levels of the other peoples of the world. Old-time Republicans, and a large majority of the Progressives, I feel sure, believe in their heart of hearts that the structure itself, from corner-stone to roof ridge, is nearly right; that what should be done is to intelligently remodel the places where abuses have crept in, keeping the structure intact; that what our people need is not a policy of indifference as to which shall win, the man at home or the man abroad, but a policy that affirmatively favors the man at home; not a policy of determination that the equipment at home in the way of regulated organization shall not keep pace with the equipment abroad, but a policy that leaves largely to industry its own processes of evolution under a national system of regulation that really regulates—a solicitude of the nation for its people *clothed with power* to perform. At the present moment the Wilson administration is popular—is perhaps at the height of its popularity. But it is a deceptive popularity. Measured by votes, it is a popularity "not proven," for while *two-fifths* of the electorate may carry States when the opposing *three-fifths* are divided, as was the case in New Jersey and Massachusetts in November, two-fifths does not constitute a majority when the three-fifths are united. Measured by any change in the cost of living, or by increased or diminished activity of home industry, the Wilson idea has not had time to either prove or disprove itself. But that it will ultimately and substantially diminish industrial activity few practical men deny—no people can eat its cake and at the same time give it away; and that it will substantially diminish the cost of

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living few practical men believe—the cost of living will remain about where it is. And when the country once wakes up to these two realizations, even the two-fifths on which Mr. Wilson rode in, and the two-fifths that has since come to his support in the by-elections, will begin to crumble.

Now how can these three-fifths be turned into an effective majority? Never—as long as they remain substantially divided. Mr. Wilson's political philosophy is founded upon unbelief in the nation, as a nation, supported only by a minority of the electorate; but as against the genuine orthodox belief of what is the duty and mission of the nation, as a nation, the unbelief will remain triumphant as long as the majority divides on details. The problem, therefore, is to get that majority together under a common paramount political belief—the nation the trustee of its people, industrially as well as politically, with power to build up as well as power to punish—and, such belief once formulated, to organize that belief into a compact fighting party. The Republican National Committee has put forward a plan of reformed representation in the coming National Convention that, in addition to the prevailing unit of the States' representation in Congress, apportions delegates upon the basis of the votes of 1908 and 1914. This is a step in the right direction. It ignores the Taft vote of 1912 as the constituency to be represented. What that constituency shall be—who shall elect the delegates in 1916—is left to the call to be issued later. So, advisedly perhaps, at least fortunately, that question is still open. Now suppose that instead of inviting "Republicans" to send delegates to the Convention, the Committee should invite all who are opposed to the Wilson policy of denationalization and in favor of maintaining the nation as the trustee of its people, industrially as well as politically, to join in a Progressive Republican Convention, would not a responsive chord, in Republican and Progressive hearts alike, be struck? And why should not the Committee do that generous and sensible thing? Why should not the State Conventions, to whom the plan of reformed representation is referred, ask the Committee to make such call? Of the two fractions constituting the majority of the country opposed to Wilson, the Republican fraction is the older, and can afford, therefore, without the loss of dignity or the fear of confessing itself a suppliant, to make the first overture. Besides, it

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has a precedent in its own history—the most thrilling hour of its history; for when in 1864 it was found necessary to unite those who were in favor of the nation against those who threatened to destroy the nation, the invitation was not to Republicans only, but to "all qualified voters who desire the unconditional maintenance of the Union and the supremacy of the Constitution . . . to send delegates to a convention to assemble at Baltimore"—an invitation that brought Republicans and War Democrats alike into a Union-Republican party.

And pending this, why not put this spirit of reunion, as far as possible, into actual practice—go to the voters of both the Republican and Progressive parties with something that would give them practical opportunity to say yes or no to the *proposition to unite;* as, for instance, to have some well-known man of liberal tendencies to come out for the nomination for Senator at the primaries of both parties, in States like Illinois, Pennsylvania, and New York, where Senators are to be elected in 1914, upon a platform of *united resistance* to the Wilson idea of denationalization? The same course could be followed in many Congressional districts; the point being that in connection with the suggested call for the National Convention, there would be set in motion a natural process of reunion in which personal resentments would disappear in the greater absorbing power of a *commanding cause.*

Of course there is in the Republican party a considerable section who do not wish any correction of present-day wrongs either by retrogression to primitive conditions, the Wilson way, or by the nation itself, lifted to a new conception of its power and its duty—a section whose political strategy is to keep the situation so nearly balanced, as at present, that nothing substantial will ensue. We must count on those as opposed to the plan. And there is in the Progressive party a considerable section who are all sail and no ballast. These, too, must be counted out. But count all these out and a majority of the voters of the country who have not yet joined the Wilson propaganda still remain. The question is not one of numbers, but of energy—is there political energy enough to mobilize the majority? The material is at hand; a concrete issue is at hand; can there be summoned behind it the political energy that will set it in motion? Is the country indifferent?

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That depends, perhaps, on what transpires in the world of commerce and industry in the next few months. Party policies are not made—they emerge. Leaders do not create the tide—they are only the earliest to appear on the tide that is pressed forward from behind. When a party comes into power, or back to power, it is because it has come upon a rising tide.

The return of the Republican party to power in 1897 was attended by a prosperity that amazed the world and amazed ourselves. Its cause, chiefly, was the sudden access by mankind to the forces in nature that, developed, have created the new environment in which we live. For the first time mankind began to fully realize what lay at its door in these new forces in the way of increased power and helpfulness. It was as if a new world had been discovered. But it was a world whose lengths and breadths of opportunity were traveled at first by only a few of the keener business minds; and as new continents have been snapped up by the pioneers, so this new world was snapped up by those earliest on the ground. And it was a world also without law or regulation, except the law carried into it from conditions entirely different and entirely inadequate.

These events brought their own consequences. The old units of industry and commerce had to give way, in this new world, to new and entirely different units, some of them immensely greater than the old ones. For the creation and regulation of these the then existing laws made no adequate provision; and without such provision the race into the new world of industry was necessarily a free-for-all, selfish always, sometimes brutal, in which nearly everything worth while went to the strong; and only what the strong did not want was left to the multitude other than the strong. In other words, in any permanent interest in this new great domain of property that has made us the richest nation in the world, the multitude was left behind. For a little while, absorbed by the from "day to day" prosperity in which it participated, the multitude remained silent. But permanent silence could not last. Silence was soon followed by inquiry—at first a sane, reasonable inquiry founded on the moral right of every one to have some interest in what is the product of all. But this also, in the nature of things, could not last; for, like the incoming tide, a public protest, founded on right, unless directed into channels that lead to

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the right, is bound, sooner or later, to reach and break upon the shallows.

The shallows were reached. Leaders emerged who, overwhelming the few who were trying to point out what was wrong and how it could be righted, proclaimed that nearly everything was wrong and should be destroyed. The Constitution itself did not escape. Even serious men have begun seriously to inquire if our present Constitution be not an outgrown form of government. From college professors have come books teaching that this Constitution for whose maintenance the country was called in convention to renominate Lincoln in 1864 was merely the device of the plutocrats of that day to fortify the plutocracy of that day. The natural right of men and women to hold as their own that which they have acquired, under conceptions of natural right as old as the beginning of time, has not escaped. No less a person than a member of Mr. Wilson's cabinet has recently announced, in connection with the copper strike, that the right of property is not anything that *government* may not rightfully take away. Government by measured public opinion has not escaped. It is no mistake to give public opinion the means of reviewing, deliberately, matters done in its name by its agents, or even of initiating, deliberately, matters refused; but in too many instances the "initiation of the means" has been put almost entirely into the hands of the temperamentally dissatisfied. And so one by one the anchors of society—the Constitutional Rights of men, the Natural Rights of men, and government by Measured Public Opinion—have begun to drag. Is it any wonder that old-fashioned American thrift and patriotism, in the midst of the resounding shallows, sometimes tremble as if they were in the presence of a rising storm?

But reaction is on the road. Already some of the States that adopted the initiative, referendum, and recall are devising means of limiting the exercise of that power to the *real occasions* upon which it should be exercised by the people directly, and to that end are providing that the requisite petitions be signed by the petitioners in person, in the clerk's office of the respective communities, after the petitioner has shown his qualifications as an elector. Experience has been at work here. And, if an industrial reaction comes, Experience will teach another lesson, the

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lesson that the foundations of prosperity are an industrial policy founded on stability and common sense; for in the presence of an experience that is any substantial recession from the prosperity Mr. Wilson found when he was elected, policies will begin to be tested again, not by how they *sound*, but by what *they bring*.

But be the reaction whatever it may, it is for us not to forget that *in its beginning, before it struck the shallows, the tide was right*. That is the indisputable fact sunk deep in our public consciousness that has given to Mr. Roosevelt and the Progressive party their tremendous hold on the people's confidence. The protest of Mr. Roosevelt and the Progressive party was a protest against a moral wrong. Mr. Wilson's hold on the American people is their belief that he is in earnest also in his wish to right this moral wrong. For government is not *wholly* a business proposition; it is a human proposition also. And no party can hope to succeed, or will deserve to succeed, that seeks to use industrial reaction to restore to *its old place* the moral wrong out of which the tide originally arose.

Will we, the Republicans who do not wish to go back beyond the point where the tide was right, and the Progressives who do not wish to go forward beyond the point where it struck the shallows, have the wisdom to hear and heed this, the voice of the age? Individuals hear it; Mr. Ford, for instance, of the Ford Automobile Company has just ordered $10,000,000 to be paid as a dividend (not a gift, but a dividend) to the men who have helped him achieve his great success; and others are doing things on the same line. Supplement this noble individual conception of what is right with a national corporation policy that will securely invite the people's investments in the corporate property of the country, without necessarily, as now, going through the winnowing process of the so-called money trust, and a real peopleization of the great new world of property will have begun. Other individuals hear that voice—men and women who are working for humaner conditions of labor, better tenements, juster compensation for both injuries and age—the moral dividend that prosperity owes to humanity. Will the reunited party hear it? Will we accept in earnest that side of the people's problem—put the nation behind it instead of the States—and then advancing to the economic problem to which everything eventually goes back, accept

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Mr. Wilson's challenge that the nation has no concern toward its people, except as policeman to see to it that the single-handed combat goes on, both at home and in our industrial contests with those abroad, as if we were still living under the old schools of political economy that recognize no national lines and no change in the times. Let the issue between the Progressive-Republican party and Mr. Wilson be made right there. Let the Progressive-Republican party put behind its solicitude for the people the *power of the nation* to make good that solicitude. And if it be necessary to deal with new problems—the product of the new times—let it not shrink from dealing with them intelligently in the light of the new times.

PETER S. GROSSCUP.

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TWO SUFFRAGE MISTAKES

BY MOLLY ELLIOT SEAWELL

THE PROPOSED SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION

THE National Woman Suffrage Association and the entire body of suffragists stand fully committed to the proposed Constitutional amendment, conferring suffrage on women. A Congressional Committee of suffragists, with headquarters in Washington, and also a Congressional Union, have been organized to work for the proposed amendment. A large sum of money is being raised to prosecute the campaign, and members of Congress who oppose the amendment have received official warning that they will be fought in their home districts, and the Democratic party as a whole will be held accountable if the amendment is not submitted to the legislatures of the several States.

The party in power has apparently shown great shrewdness in meeting the suffrage crisis. One of the first acts of the party leaders at the called session of the Sixty-third Congress, in April, 1913, was to have a Committee on Woman Suffrage appointed in the Senate. This committee was carefully selected with a view to prompt and favorable action on the suffrage amendment. That the course of the committee was prearranged by the Democratic leaders was assured in the statement of Senator Thomas, of Colorado, the chairman. Senator Thomas announced, immediately after the appointment of the committee, that, although a hearing would be given to the women opposed to suffrage, the committee had already determined to report favorably the suffrage resolution. This was done, the resolution being Senate Joint Resolution Number 1 of the Sixty-third Congress. The Democratic leaders played the game and the suffragists seem to have accepted as bread the stone offered them by the Senate. Thus, the party leaders skilfully put the Democratic Senate on record as indorsing woman suffrage, and

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threw the issue promptly into the House of Representatives, which was and is the real battlefield. It was understood that as soon as the tariff and the currency bills were disposed of, the suffrage issue should have the right of way. The suffragists, who do not seem to have suspected the political management of the case, as soon as the Committee on Rules assembled, after the Christmas recess, asked that a Committee on Woman Suffrage be appointed in the House of Representatives, as in the Senate. This request was perfectly reasonable, but was promptly denied. The vote ignored party and sectional lines, thus showing that the Republicans saw the astuteness of the Democratic programme, and were willing to profit by it.

After the refusal of the Committee on Rules to appoint a House Committee on Woman Suffrage, the question was brought before the Democratic caucus on February 3d and received a severe defeat, 123 to 57.

These defeats, however, have in no way changed the intention of the suffragists to continue the battle for the suffrage amendment, and they have so announced through their officials. Indeed, no other course is open to them, after having organized for the purpose of getting a suffrage amendment, and, as in the case of other political organizations, the only way they can secure victory is by defeating their opponents at the polls.

So, by good political management, the Democratic leaders have put the Democratic Senate on record as favoring woman suffrage, and by forcing the fighting in the House of Representatives they have succeeded in bringing the suffrage issue before the people in time for the November elections of 1914. Then, the real strength of the suffrage movement will be known eighteen months in advance of the national convention of 1916. Of course the attitude of the two great parties toward woman suffrage in 1916 will be determined by the showing of the 1914 Congressional election.

But there are conclusive reasons for saying that no suffrage amendment of any kind will ever again be incorporated in the Constitution of the United States. Never in the history of politics has there been a more vivid example of misdirected energy or greater unfamiliarity with the structure and history of the American Government than in the efforts of the suffragists for a woman suffrage amend-

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ment to the Constitution. It requires only a rudimentary knowledge of the government and political history of the United States to see the practical impossibility of three-fourths of the States adopting a suffrage amendment.

The right of a State to create and control its own electorate is the corner-stone of its autonomy, and where there is a race problem involved it is the rock upon which its civilization rests. The proposition made by the suffragists is, that the States shall voluntarily give up to the Federal Government this great fundamental right of creating and controlling their own electorates, a right upon which their liberties are based, and this for the sake of woman suffrage, which any State may acquire at any time without giving up any right of any sort. Under the proposed amendment there would be in every State two electorates—a masculine electorate, created and controlled by the State, and a feminine electorate, created and controlled by the Federal Government. The electorate of women would be entirely above and beyond the laws and forces of the State, which could neither regulate, control, amend, nor abolish it. If as many as thirty-seven States adopted the amendment, it would be fastened upon the twelve remaining States against their protest. And if these twelve States should be the populous States, the amendment might be forced and fastened upon the country by a minority of the votes of the country. The women who would constitute this Federal electorate would not be allowed a voice in the revolution that would charge them with vast responsibilities, take away their property privileges, as in the suffrage States, and alter their status in every particular, because the suffragists do not contemplate any referendum to women. As a matter of history the suffragists have consistently and successfully opposed a referendum to women, of whom only 8 per cent. in the United States are on record as favoring suffrage. The feminine electorate proposed to be created by the woman suffrage amendment would necessarily constitute a privileged class, helpless and irresponsible, enacting laws which they could not enforce, legislating upon naval and military affairs, shipping, navigation, and other subjects in which no woman has any practical experience, and exempt from naval, military, police, fireman's and all life-saving duty, and all dangerous employments, unable to assist in the enforcement of law or the maintenance of order. This division would be

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strictly one of sex, as every man at some period of his life can perform these duties, while no woman at any period of her life can perform them. The situation would be further complicated by terrible race problems. There are, in the Southern States, approximately 2,000,000 negro women; in Oregon, 366 Chinese and Japanese women; in Washington, 1,298; and in California, 5,936. It is the invariable tendency of all alien races to act as a unit, and this was very clearly emphasized when the Federal Government once before attempted to create an electorate independent of the State, which might and did defy the State. The negroes, when they voted, gave their solid vote to the Republican party. These 2,000,000 negro women might, if they chose, dominate the Southern States, and the 7,600 Chinese and Japanese women in California, Oregon, and Washington, where Asiatic men are not allowed to vote, might swing those States in matters, not only of trade, but of war or peace with China and Japan. To complete the shrieking and screaming absurdity of the proposition, if the amendment should, or rather could, be adopted, it would appear on the face of the Constitution as if women alone voted in the United States, as there is no mention in the immortal document of men voting.

On the part of the Federal Government, the creation of the proposed electorate would be easy enough, like letting the genie out of the trunk. But any attempt to defend, control, or even regulate it, except in the weak States, would be practically impossible. It is one of the features of supreme wisdom in the Constitution, that although the Federal Government has ample power to protect the States, and to settle differences among them, it has no machinery to rob them of their liberties except the army and navy, for the small force of United States marshals and their deputies is totally inadequate to control or even protect an electorate unless it be phenomenally small. This shows another integral feature in the American Government—that an electorate which cannot protect itself has no place in the American system. The Federal electorate of women which the amendment would create is, approximately, 13,000,000. It is true that the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, President of the National Woman Suffrage Association of the United States, stated before the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage, on April 21, 1913 (Senate Joint Resolution 1, of the Sixty-third Congress, page 93):

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I have heard the statement made over and over again, that men are afraid of adding the large illiterate vote of the women to the illiterate vote of the men of to-day. While we will add some illiterates, about 3,000,000, you know we will add 24,000,000 of voters, and you can afford out of 24,000,000 votes to take 3,000,000 of illiteracy, and have 21,000,000 of intelligence left. (Applause.) But we will not only cancel our 3,000,000 of illiteracy by 3,000,000 of intelligence, which will leave us 18,000,000 of intelligence, but being generous to men, we will give 4,000,000 of intelligent women to cancel 4,000,000 ignorant men, and then we will have left 14,000,000 of intelligence to add to your 21,000,000 of intelligence, and see what an improvement that will make in the whole nation. (Applause.)

If Miss Shaw's figures be correct, the women, when enfranchised will be able to outvote the men nearly two to one. The official figures of the Presidential election of November, 1912, when the largest vote ever cast in the United States was polled, amounted to 14,720,057, and according to the latest official figures there is an excess of 2,692,288 men in the country. The electorate of women which the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw proposes to create with the assistance of not less than thirty-seven States would therefore be about 13,000,000, instead of 24,000,000 as the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw innocently supposes, that is, provided the figures of the United States Census may be taken seriously and not considered as practical jokes. "Oh, *sancta simplicitas!*" as Mephistopheles says.

Another embarrassment provided for the Federal Government by the proposed suffrage amendment is that the Federal Government would be obliged to define all the qualifications of all the women voters in all the States, and these qualifications would, of course, have to be identical. This would inevitably produce conflicts with State laws, as the qualifications of voters are by no means the same in all the States. It would also lead to disputes between the States concerning the fourth article, second section of the Constitution, prohibiting a State from granting to the citizens of one State privileges not common to the citizens of the several States. It would, of course, be necessary for every State which adopted the amendment—if any of the States adopt it—to revise its constitution. Revisions of constitutions are tedious and expensive performances.

Not only does the proposed suffrage amendment provide generously for the Federal Government in the way of complication at home, but it carefully and thoughtfully lays up

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a store of dangerous embroilments with foreign Powers. It would make voters out of Chinese and Japanese women, while the laws of certain States preclude Chinese and Japanese men from voting. It is true that Chinese women, under the leadership of the suffragists, voted in San Francisco at the Presidential election of 1912, but their votes were probably illegal. The denial of equal rights to the Chinese and Japanese men would cause demands to be made upon the United States by powerful nations with arms in their hands, and the ladies who would have brought about these cataclysms would be of no service whatever in the defense of the country.

Attractive, therefore, as this suffrage programme sounds, it cannot be accomplished. The creation of a Federal electorate independent of the States is in the nature of an exploded experiment, and the history of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments and the frightful record of reconstruction in the Southern States show conclusively how a Federal electorate, beyond and above the power of the State, would work. Those two amendments were hasty and retaliatory legislation, which was never approved by three-fourths of the States, and which have no defenders to-day, except the suffragists. The Southern States never made any pretense of submitting to the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, but, obeying the natural and higher law of self-preservation, gave notice that the electorate created by the Federal Government would vote at its peril. Here came in one of the many and admirable checks and balances of the great charter of American liberty, the Constitution of the United States. Although Congress might enact foolish and wicked legislation, like the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, which through a Federal electorate would have handed over to anarchy eleven States in the Union, it had not the power to carry out the mandate to throttle those States. The army and the navy are the only available forces of the United States, and the American people never have tolerated and never will tolerate the presence of soldiers and sailors at the polls. The few feeble and sporadic attempts to use the army for the defense of the Federal electorate were disastrous to the party in power, and the excellent precedent was established that an electorate under the American system must be able to defend itself, and to carry out its own will, independent of military

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forces, and thereby accept the responsibility of its own votes. When the true nature and the tyrannical and destructive principle of a Federal electorate were realized, the whole country acquiesced in sending the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the scrap-heap of legislation. Meanwhile the States passed election laws to suit themselves and flatly conflicting with these two amendments. The courts sustained these laws and the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments died legally as they had died actually.

But although the question of the Federal Government creating an electorate in a State was settled for all time, yet even the weak and temporary effort to sustain this electorate resulted in terrible disorders and lasting complications. The Federal electorates and Federal Government imposed upon the Southern States incurred vast debts without the authority of the States, looted the State treasuries, and laid up a store of political and financial embarrassments which are continually coming up to plague those States even at the present day. However, the Federal electorate passed out of existence, and there is no probability that it will ever be revived, particularly for woman suffrage. Any State may adopt suffrage in a perfectly sane and safe manner, without handing itself over, tied hand and foot, to the Federal Government, which does not want and cannot manage such a charge.

It is perfectly safe to say that the eleven seceding States would immediately retire to private life any Senator or Representative in Congress who would vote to create a Federal electorate, especially as it would be accompanied by the enfranchisement of two million negro women. Some of the Southern suffragists attempted to meet this difficulty by imitating a section of the British suffragists, who published a list of governmental questions in which they did not propose to interfere, such as the army, the navy, etc. Miss Jane Addams, Vice-President of the National Woman Suffrage Association, has, several times, in print and in speeches, suggested that women shall vote only upon questions directly affecting their own interests. The Southern suffragists declared they did not mean to enfranchise the negro women. But how can they prevent it if the suffrage amendment should be adopted and become a part of the organic law? And what is to

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be thought of an electorate such as certain of the British suffragists desire, which admits its unfitness to legislate upon some of the greatest questions of government? What would be thought if either of the great political parties in the United States should proclaim, "We do not propose to interfere with the army and the navy, or the tariff or the currency?" Can anything more grotesque than such an electorate be imagined?

However, with or without the negro question, the eleven seceding States will never submit to any interference by the Federal Government with their electorates, or permit the creation of a Federal electorate among them. These eleven seceding States can, of themselves, with two other States, defeat the amendment. But there are five contiguous States—Maryland, West Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri—which have large negro populations, and these States would no more allow negro men and women a share in their government than the seceding States would, and would be lined up against the suffrage amendment, making sixteen States certain to reject it. The solidarity of the alien races will always make their vote a menace, and it was this, among other causes, that doomed the Federal electorate created by the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments. Under the proposed suffrage amendment the negro and Chinese and Japanese women would soon be organized so as to hold the balance of power in their States, as the Mormon women really hold the balance of power in Utah, Colorado, and Idaho. The three Pacific coast States—California, Oregon, and Washington—have a race problem on their hands more acute even than Southern States have in the negro problem. The admission of Chinese and Japanese women to the polls would not only fearfully complicate the race problem, but would create terrible embroilments for the Federal Government. Those States have already passed laws which the Japanese claim to be infractions of treaties, and of the sixth article of the Constitution, forbidding the States to pass laws contravening treaty rights. The present Administration made protests to California which were undoubtedly known in advance to be unavailing, but the Administration was able to shield itself behind the autonomy of the States. It will be recalled that at the time of the passage of the Geary Exclusion Act the people of California were a unit in declaring that,

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whether the act were passed or not, the Chinese should not enter California. The threat of war made no impression on the Pacific coast States then, any more than it does now, for history shows that men will not only disregard the statute law when it conflicts with the natural law, but that they will always prefer war to giving up what they think is necessary for their existence. Where there is a controversy between the American Government and a foreign power over a race problem, the State governments are a buffer between the nations. If this suffrage amendment could pass, this buffer would be taken away, and the United States would have to deal directly with China and Japan in this question of admitting the women of those races to citizenship and excluding the men, and no one can foresee the end. These three Pacific coast States already have suffrage, which was forced upon them by the Socialists, without consulting the women of these States through a referendum, and in the case of Washington and California, actually by a minority of the voters. These three States, when called upon to choose between giving a complimentary vote to suffrage, which they already have, and admitting Chinese and Japanese women to the polls, where they might be relied upon to vote for the admission of their countrymen, would certainly go into the same column as the seceding and border States. This would make nineteen States that would undoubtedly throw out the suffrage amendment with its independent Federal electorate.

The representatives in Congress of these three Pacific coast States would be placed in a singular predicament. If they voted against the suffrage amendment the National Woman Suffrage Association has promised to defeat them in their States; while if they voted for the enfranchisement of Chinese and Japanese women, their constituents would make of them a Roman holiday. It may, however, be stated with safety that there is no more chance of these States surrendering their autonomy to the Federal Government for something they already have than the Southern States would walk back into the Gehenna from which they have once escaped, in order to acquire suffrage when they can have it at any moment they wish to create a little Gehenna of their own.

Then there are the weaker States, such as Delaware, Rhode Island, Nevada, and Oklahoma. There, indeed, the

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Federal Government, so unequal to coercing a strong State, would have a fearful power. If these States ever consented to sell their birthright for a mess of suffrage pottage, which they may have at any time they choose, they would be absolutely at the mercy of the party in power in all Federal elections. A couple of regiments in any one of those States could steal its electoral vote, send any man or woman to Congress desired by the Federal administration, and treat the State as a conquered province. It is not to be supposed that the legislatures of these States would be so ignorant as not to know that this proposed suffrage amendment would be surrendering the autonomy of the State, at one stroke, to the Federal Government. Therefore, these States may be placed in line with those which would laugh the suffrage amendment out of court.

Again, powerful States like New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts, with large foreign populations, would be most unlikely to invite the convulsions and disasters of a Federal electorate with a high percentage of foreign women quite independent of State control. It must not be forgotten that the legislatures of these great States will not be so trustful and altruistic as the ladies who advocate this suffrage amendment, but will go to work in a perfectly cold-blooded way, without considering the advantages of the pure milk, etc., promised by the suffragists, and will not commit political *hara-kiri* even to oblige the Congressional Committee and the Congressional Union of the National Woman Suffrage Association.

Although there does not seem to be any reason why any State should adopt so destructive a principle as the proposed amendment embodies, and which is entirely unnecessary if suffrage be the object in view, yet it is quite possible that the three suffrage States dominated by the Mormon Church might, through the Mormon power, and for Mormon reasons, vote for the amendment (if they have a chance). The latest figures give the acknowledged Mormon population of Utah as 56 per cent., although it is probably much greater, while in Colorado, with a Mormon population of 19 per cent. and Idaho with 25 per cent., the Mormon voters hold the balance of power, and exercise that power. The Mormon Church has ever been the best friend of suffrage and the steady enemy of the Federal Government. Polygamy, which is prohibited by no less than three

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Federal statutes, is not only a practice among the Mormons, but is a tenet of the Mormon religion. In this it goes much further than Mohammedanism. The Prophet permitted his followers to have four wives, but the Mormon creed inculcates polygamy as a religious duty, and every Mormon man and woman is compelled by his or her conscience to believe in polygamy and practise it as far as he or she can. It is true that Congress forced Utah to incorporate an anti-polygamy clause in its constitution, before admitting the State into the Union. This clause was cheerfully indorsed by the Mormons, but with how much good faith may be imagined by the long list of open and confessed polygamists sent to Congress by Utah. As a matter of fact, no man has ever been sent to either House of Congress who was unfriendly to the Mormon Church. And why should Utah, with 56 per cent. openly Mormon, ever send a Gentile to Congress?

The religious aspect of polygamy makes Mormonism a danger to the State, and differentiates those who have been born or reared in polygamy from those who have been born and reared to regard it as a civil and religious crime. Suffrage has not only conspicuously failed to check polygamy, but it is the general consensus of opinion that Mormonism has gained, rather than lost strength, since the adoption of woman suffrage by Utah in 1896. One thing is certain, if woman suffrage had not sustained Mormonism, suffrage would have been abolished long ago in Utah, with 56 per cent. openly Mormon. A good indication that Mormonism is not weak under woman suffrage is shown by divorce statistics. Although in the divorce belt and surrounded by suffrage States, which head the list in divorce, statistics show that Utah is the nineteenth State in its proportion of divorces, because Mormons do not divorce. Concerning the prospects of the proposed amendment in these three suffrage States, where the Mormons hold the balance of power, nothing can be predicted, except that whatever could be done would be for the benefit of the Mormon Church.

THE OPPOSITION TO THE PAYMENT OF THE INCOME TAX

The second mistake made by the suffragists in the campaign of 1914 concerns the income tax. In an official statement issued by the Congressional Union of the National Woman Suffrage Association from its headquarters in

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Washington, dated December 30, 1913, while not advising militant resistance to payment of the income tax, it indorses resistance, and gives the following reason: "It is an accepted principle of all free governments that taxation without representation is tyranny."

It is, however, known to all students of the American Government that "taxation without representation is tyranny" is not, and never was, a principle of government, any more than the glittering generality that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." This statement about taxation and representation was a mere oratorical phrase of James Otis, and was used as a catch-word at the beginning of the Revolution. A principle, exactly contrary to this catch-word, was adopted at the organization of the Government of the United States and has remained in full force ever since as a basic principle. This is, that votes and taxes have no essential relation. This principle differentiated the American Government at the time from all existing governments, and was in effect a new departure. In monarchical countries, where property votes, there is a direct, though not an essential relation between votes and taxes. But this is gradually disappearing, and never had any existence in the United States. For, from the beginning, large numbers of persons were taxed who were not permitted to vote, and large numbers of persons voted, and even administered the Government, who were not taxed, because they had nothing taxable. A man may be President of the United States who does not pay a penny in taxes except the head tax at the time of registration, and which is intended to pay the expenses of the election, and is levied only on registered voters. And a person who pays taxes on millions of dollars may be denied a vote. In every way this divorce between votes and taxes is obvious in both the State and Federal governments. There is no property qualification required in any Federal election, and the property qualifications in the States are merely nominal, in some States being as low as $2.50. It may be noted that whenever the suffragists try to sustain this position they are compelled to resort to instances in monarchical governments, as nothing in the American Government sustains it, but, on the contrary, evidence flatly contradicts it. In the very statement issued by the Congressional Committee of the National Woman Suffrage Associa-

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tion, on the subject of resisting the income tax, the precedents given are, the advice of Mr. Lloyd-George, the Socialist Chancellor of the Exchequer of Great Britain, and the refusal of certain Welsh dissenting churches to contribute to the support of the Anglican Church. But the American Government is not socialistic, and is not administered by Socialists, and there is no State Church in the United States. So these examples readily show the weakness of the position that the payment of taxes entitles one to representation, and the exclusion from voting entitles one to exemption from taxation.

A very slight examination will show the fallacy of the taxation-without-representation-is-tyranny notion. If only those voted who paid taxes, very few women would vote. There are no official figures to show the proportion of women taxpayers to men taxpayers, but tax experts have estimated that there are not more than 350,000 independent women taxpayers in the United States. This, of course, is exclusive of the large amount of property assessed in the names of married women whose husbands pay the taxes. The income-tax figures seem to bear out the estimate of about 350,000 women who actually pay their own taxes. From this estimate must be deducted a large percentage of women who, although actually paying taxes, are for various reasons, such as nonage, etc., ineligible to vote. Therefore, if it be "an accepted principle of all free governments that taxation without representation is tyranny," the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw's 24,000,000 women in buckram would shrink to about 300,000 who are entitled to a vote because they pay taxes. If being deprived of a vote exempted from taxation, then the entire population of the District of Columbia, 353,299 souls, could claim exemption from taxation, because they are denied a vote. The entire army, navy, and marine corps of the United States, amounting in round numbers to 150,000 men, would be exempt, as they are practically disfranchised by difficulty of acquiring residence, etc., and they are even precluded by Section 1763, Revised Statutes of the United States, from having any share in the administration of the Government for which they may be called upon to lay down their lives. All convicts would be exempt from taxation because convicts lose their civil rights. The multitude of aliens who pay taxes, but who are not allowed to vote, would also

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be exempt. But this would be merely the beginning of exemptions. All that anybody would have to do in order to escape taxation would be to go to the nearest foreign consular office and forswear his or her allegiance to the Government of the United States and become an alien—for there is no law in any statute-book in the world prohibiting a man from choosing his own citizenship or subjectship. In short, if it is "an accepted principle of all free governments that taxation without representation is tyranny," nobody need pay taxes who does not want to pay taxes, and the public income would cease.

There is, however, a new and startling principle which is rapidly developing concerning votes and taxes. This is, a disposition to make women pay for their immunities. Men not only pay nearly all the money taxes, but they pay a service tax from which women are of necessity exempt. According to press despatches, the Russian Douma is considering the levy in Finland, where women vote, of a special tax, amounting to about three million dollars in American money, upon the ground that, although Finland pays no more money or service taxes to the government than any other province in the empire, it has more votes, and therefore should pay for the privilege. In the New York Assembly a bill was introduced in 1913 providing that women who voted should lose their dower, as in the suffrage States, and should have no alimony in divorces. This is strictly in line with the equal rights demanded by the suffragists, and more will be heard of it in the future.

Along with the unique "principle of government" advocated by the suffragists there is an equally unique and very striking feature of opposition among women to suffrage. The organized suffragists amount to about 8 per cent. of the whole body of women in this country. The remaining 92 per cent. are either indifferent or opposed to suffrage. But never before in the history of suffrage have those whose enfranchisement is proposed been indifferent to suffrage, or dreamed of opposing it. The negroes, although totally illiterate and unfit for suffrage at the time of their enfranchisement, hailed it with joy. There is no instance on record of any body of men refusing the ballot, much less fighting against it. But from the time that suffrage was first proposed to women there has been general indifference to it among women, and active hostility to it

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among many women. At the present time there are in seventeen non-suffrage States associations of women organized to oppose suffrage, and in several suffrage States there are organizations of women to secure the repeal of suffrage. It is noteworthy that in none of the suffrage States has there been a referendum to the women of those States. The suffragists have steadily, vigorously, and violently fought referendums. Even when the Massachusetts Legislature passed the bill providing for a referendum to the women of the State in 1895, the suffragists not only attacked the bill, but after it had been passed urged the Governor to veto it. In this, the only referendum held so far, the suffragists polled only 22,204 votes out of an estimated total of 575,000 women of voting age in Massachusetts. The suffragists have tried, in many ways, to account for this result, one reason given being that the measure did not carry full suffrage. But in no case have the suffragists fought even limited suffrage. As a matter of fact, they worked hard in Massachusetts, spent much money, predicted victory in their official organ, *The Woman's Journal*, and got 22,204 votes from the women of Massachusetts. Naturally, ever since then, the suffragists have had the same objection to referendums that Falstaff had to security: "I would as lief he put ratsbane in my mouth." At the suffrage hearing before the New York Assembly in March, 1912, a statement was read by Mrs. E. Palmer Gavit, saying that from "personal investigation" she was prepared to say that the women of New York were "overwhelmingly in favor of suffrage." Mrs. Gavit was immediately followed by Mrs. Harriet Stanton Blatch, who argued fiercely against a referendum. There is a tragic absence of humor in the suffrage body.

The reason given by the suffragists against a referendum is that women would be coerced or persuaded by men into defeating suffrage. That is to say, women are fully qualified to vote on all subjects except as to whether they shall or shall not vote, and this, according to the suffragists, is the question most vital to women. This reasoning is enough to make a graven image smile. If the proposition were submitted to the late Professor Aristotle as he paced the groves of Parnassus, his laughter would echo down the corridors of time. But even if it were true that women wanted the ballot and were afraid to take it when it is offered them,

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how easily this difficulty could be overcome by the use of the Australian ballot in referendums!

It may be asked, if women are too timid and too ignorant to secure the alleged enormous benefits of suffrage when offered to them without money and without price, would such an ignorant and timid electorate be of any benefit to any country? Would it not rather be a detriment? May it not be that women, as a sex, see the disadvantages and burdens of the ballot for themselves and the country, and refuse it on intelligent grounds? All of the women who oppose suffrage are not wholly stupid or uninformed. The fact is that suffrage, like most things, has its price to women as to men. Miss Jane Addams said in *The Ladies' Home Journal* in 1910 that "suffrage is a simple thing—merely putting a piece of paper in a ballot-box." In a statement made by Miss Addams before the House Judiciary Committee of the Sixty-second Congress, on March 13, 1912 (Serial No. 2, page 8), she said, "The franchise is only a little bit of mechanism which enables the voter to say how much money shall be appropriated from the taxes, of which women pay so large a part." Imagination stands aghast at this conception of the franchise on the part of the Vice-President of the National Woman Suffrage Association. Students of suffrage agree that it is one of the most complex, far-reaching, and abstruse things on this planet, dealing with stupendous matters other than taxes, differing in every country, with strange powers of self-adjustment, governed by laws as mysterious as they are inflexible, following the natural rather than the statute law, touching every relation of life, and demanding its price always from both men and women. A wonderful example of the tremendous and complicated nature of what Miss Addams calls "a little bit of mechanism which enables a voter to say how much money shall be appropriated for taxes," may be found in Miss Addams's own State of Illinois. At the suffrage hearing before the House Judiciary Committee of the Sixty-second Congress, on March 13, 1912 (Serial No. 2, page 79), the following colloquy took place between Miss Jane Addams and Mr. Littleton and Mr. Davis of the Committee:

MR. LITTLETON. Cannot the Legislature of Illinois grant women suffrage?

MISS ADDAMS. No; they have not that power. . . .

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MR. DAVIS. They have no power to organize and submit a Constitutional amendment?

MISS ADDAMS. They have to do it through a Constitutional convention. They cannot do it by legislative enactment.

Nevertheless, the Illinois Legislature at the earnest solicitation of the suffragists passed a woman suffrage bill in 1913. The legislators took care to pass this bill in a form which the Attorney-General of Illinois warned them was unconstitutional, and they had full knowledge that only a few months before, in a preferential election in Chicago, woman suffrage had been defeated by more than two to one. The Governor signed the bill, and under it women in Illinois have registered to vote. Another illegality has occurred, in the almost universal falsification of the age given by the women who have registered to vote. Any and every one of these voters may be challenged at the polls. Meanwhile, the validity of the law is being attacked in the courts, and to add to the general confusion a call for a Constitutional convention is before the Illinois Legislature, and such a convention may repeal the suffrage bill and so complicate matters indefinitely. Thus, by the inexperience and inexpertness of the suffrage leaders, the "little bit of mechanism" may jeopardize the whole vote of Illinois, which polled at the Presidential election of 1912 1,146,193 votes. In the event of a close contest in the Congressional election of 1914, there are vast possibilities of trouble in Illinois, due to what the Vice-President of the National Woman Suffrage Association calls "a little bit of mechanism." These are some of the difficulties the States have to deal with in adopting suffrage of their own initiative, but these are airy trifles compared with the method advocated by the suffragists in the proposed impracticable Federal amendment. There is, however, no more chance that the States will pay with their fundamental liberties for suffrage than the Sultan of Zanzibar will trade his throne for a steam-heating plant. And as for the income tax, a ruthless Government will continue to exact it, just as if Mr. James Otis had never lived and sung and died.

MOLLY ELLIOT SEAWELL.

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OUR NATIONAL FENCES

BY HUNTINGTON WILSON

When a chemist has a problem to solve he must be secure in his laboratory from outside interruption, and he must know what he is putting into his test-tube. If the American nation is to solve the problem of making its national and individual life worthy and satisfactory, it should first safeguard itself from outside interruption. This is to be done by adequate national defenses, by an enlightened diplomacy, by a politic attitude toward foreigners, and by sagacity in its external relations. It should find out scientifically who is here and who is coming here. We should know what we are putting into this country as the world's great racial test-tube. As a race we shall reap what we have sown. Our farmers are advised to have care in the selection of seeds and to cultivate the soil with diligence. Our greatest enterprise is the growing of a good nation. If this enterprise fail, what matter all the others? Is it not then urgent that we fence the field of which a nation is the crop; that by careful immigration regulation we select the seed, and then cultivate it with a little more ethical education and a little more conscientious press?

Any one consciously interested in the national defense and in American diplomacy may dismiss both with the remark that it is a public fact that the one has been the object of almost criminal neglect, while the other has at times been left exposed to be driven a zigzag course by political partisans unschooled in the statesmanship of world politics. The same is true in regard to our geographically external relations in contradistinction to our diplomatic relations. In Panama and the Philippines have been patiently built monuments to American genius as it works when undisturbed by competition, partisanship, and jealousies; but we now hear, for instance, of brusque changes of Philippine policy against

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the mature judgment of the architects of the honorable régime in those islands. One might expect that the very indifference of the public to our diplomatic and external concerns would keep them in a steady course, at least one class of national interests unaffected by the gyrations of domestic politics. But we are not permitted to enjoy any such advantage.

As to relations with foreigners, we have still neglected to provide for the enforcement of their rights and for the redress of their grievances in cases arising through acts of different States of the Union in violation of treaties or of international law. More than this, when a State legislature decides to pass laws affecting foreigners, even when the aim of such laws is quite legitimate, there is often a fatal tendency to adopt the most offensive method. Indeed, in immigration legislation, even the Congress has not been free from the same tendency.

If we consider the perennial question of Oriental immigration and the allied question of land ownership on a large scale by foreigners who do not readily assimilate with this nation, but tend as groups to become *imperia in imperio,* we shall find these questions to be general ones whose solution rests upon broad and sound principles, and need not impinge upon the honor or even the vanity of any particular race. And yet how difficult have we made these questions!

It became necessary to exclude Chinese labor. Our early treaties with China (1844 and 1858) are silent on immigration. Our treaty of 1868 light-heartedly proclaims "the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects respectively from the one country to the other for purposes of curiosity, for trade, or as permanent residents." This doubtful generalization seems to obscure the truth that a man's right to leave his own house does not carry with it the right to enter his neighbor's house. The treaty goes on to make provision against forced emigration, evidently to prevent an inhuman coolie traffic. It is a pity it could not have done this without a generalization which was sure to return to plague us and to help cast doubt upon the fundamental right of a nation to say who shall and who shall not come within its borders. The same treaty provided for favored-nation treatment in respect to travel or residence

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for the benefit of Chinese visiting or residing in the United States. But it gave no clear right of entry, unless the right to be justly treated, once within a neighbor's house, carries the right to enter it.

A few years after the adoption of this treaty of 1868 there grew up agitation against Chinese labor immigration on the Pacific coast, with resulting attempts at State legislation. Other results were a national commission, a drastic bill vetoed by President Hayes in 1877, and finally the immigration treaty of 1880. By this treaty there was stipulated for the Government of the United States the right reasonably to regulate, limit, or suspend, but not absolutely to *prohibit,* the coming or residence of Chinese laborers. It was especially stipulated that Chinese teachers, students, merchants, and others should not be affected. A foot-note to the treaty of 1880, as officially printed in 1913, says, " Amended by various provisions of law *prohibiting* the admission of Chinese laborers to the United States." The reference is to the eight or ten acts between 1882 and 1904, which have kept continuously in force the prohibition in question. The act of 1882 entirely prohibited for ten years Chinese labor immigration. In 1888, under President Cleveland, a law was passed making the prohibition absolute. Thus for twelve years (1882–1894) our legislation was increasingly doing, as a unilateral act, more than the treaty proposed, and had consequently wounded Chinese susceptibilities. Because it made exclusion absolute in terms, it was claimed even to violate the treaty itself. If so, it is the same to-day. Added to this, the laws and regulations required Chinese scholars, merchants, and others of the admitted classes (to whom the treaty guaranteed favored-nation treatment) to bring certificates from the governments of their residence, whether in or outside China. The " sand lot " demonstrations and other serious trouble on the Pacific coast in opposition to the presence of Chinese labor, occurring at intervals for many years, had been the excuse for this increasingly drastic legislation, and there was finally adopted the Convention of 1894. Thereby the two Governments agreed upon the absolute exclusion of Chinese laborers for ten years, and in some other respects brought their treaty relations more nearly into accord with American legislation. China denounced the convention in 1904. The irritating course of the whole matter, coupled with a tactless adminis-

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tration of the immigration laws, had aroused ill-feeling, which broke in a storm of protest and actually threatened a serious boycott of the exports of the United States, the first Western Power which had built up a great commerce and carrying trade to the Chinese Empire.

This history is a clear example of how a legitimate end, like the exclusion of Chinese labor on economic grounds, may be attained by quite unnecessarily offensive methods. It is an example, too, of the bad habit, peculiar to ourselves, of "amending" treaties by legislation. This official misuse of the word "amend" is all too significant. A treaty cannot be amended by unilateral action any more than a contract can be changed at the will of one party. It requires diplomatic agreement to amend a treaty and a Federal law inconsistent with a treaty at best simply breaks the treaty—violates it *pro tanto*. However our subsequent legislation inconsistent with a treaty may disturb the treaty's force in our own country, it relieves us not at all of our international contract. To give our treaties proper dignity we should never try to "amend" them by legislation. We should rather avoid rash and sweeping treaty commitments; should make our treaties terminable on short notice; and if we do not like them, we should make the best of it until we can get rid of them in a manner honorable and considerate of other nations.

Again, when the excessive immigration of low-wage Japanese labor gave rise to a serious problem, we had inconsiderate agitation and grave danger of quite unnecessarily harsh legislation, both State and National, and the diplomatic situation was only saved by the adroitness of the Executive in consummating the "gentlemen's agreement" whereby the Japanese Government voluntarily put a stop to the emigration of laborers to America. As usual, the American Government had been somewhat embarrassed by the thoughtlessly broad stereotyped provisions of older treaties. In negotiating the new treaty of 1911 with Japan, Mr. Knox, by a brilliant stroke, definitively solved the Japanese labor immigration question by conventional perpetration of the "gentlemen's agreement." This issue was happy, but it is appalling to consider the blows that might have been dealt the ancient friendship between America and Japan if it had been left to the tender mercies of American legislation.

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It is now stated in the newspapers that the present Administration is confronted by the problem of an excessive Hindu immigration. Because of the low scale of wages of the Hindu laborer, this, like Chinese and Japanese labor immigration, and, indeed, quite likely labor immigration from certain parts of Europe, is against American public policy because tending to disturb the wage scale and the economic conditions in this country. Therefore, its exclusion should be squarely placed upon economic grounds. It is not the concern of the United States if the wage scale is low in a particular part of the world. This Government has quite enough to do to safeguard the economic welfare of its own citizens. Economic considerations are wholly impersonal and cannot by the wildest stretch of the imagination impugn the honor, the dignity, or the justifiable susceptibilities of any self-respecting people, even if an occasional Japanese agitator may so far forget his real dignity as to ignore this plain fact. We cannot maintain the wage scale of American labor and admit particularly cheap foreign labor any more than one can maintain two connected reservoirs at different levels. It is physically and economically impossible.

The immigration to the United States which should be cut down is that of (a) low-wage labor, which is economically detrimental; (b) races which tend to live apart in groups and are not easily assimilable to the American nation in blood, traditions, sympathies, and ideals; (c) those of whatever race who are defective or who, even if they appear normal themselves, are the seed of multiplying numbers of defective children, to become through disease and crime a heavy public charge and a widely vitiating strain in the nation.

Confronted for years and years by this great vital immigration question, we are seemingly on the eve of adopting the literacy test, while continuing to tackle with a prayerful opportunism each special question like that of the Hindus. Even the friends of the literacy test seem to support it without conviction, and merely because it is perhaps the only exclusive law that there is a chance of passing. How can the literacy test possibly achieve any of the desired sifting of the seed of the future American nation? A criminal who can read is more efficiently criminal. The stalwart peasant of healthy mind and body, waiting to be awakened by the

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free opportunity and education of America, the potential father of a vigorous strain, is left standing in his field. Should we discriminate in favor of those who read, including the cunning, the half-educated, the vicious of foreign cities?

Before adopting the literacy test, which solves nothing, should we not pause and consider whether there cannot be devised an economic test, a test of assimilability, a test to shut out future defectives? An economic test will solve such questions as that of Hindu labor. It happens to be a fact that those races which receive the highest wages are those which are generally the most assimilable and otherwise acceptable as potential American citizens. The economic test would also be efficient from the eugenical viewpoint in that, in a given country, a defective would be unlikely to be receiving the highest wage scale of his fellow-countrymen. We should take advantage of this natural law.

A sinister impression of the urgency of immigration restriction is made by the manifest indisposition of legislator and press fearlessly and scientifically to tackle this great question. It is not a party question; it is a national one. But it is hard to take it out of the politics of the individual legislator. He is afraid of the question. This is wrong, for the national interest requires nothing that any one need be ashamed of or that any American with a pretense of patriotism could defensibly oppose. The chances of an ultimate scientific solution would be better if there were appointed a non-partisan commission, including economists, sociologists, biologists, ethnologists, of the highest standing and patriotic purpose, representatives of the more important races among our citizenship, and authorities on legislation and administration, to give thorough study to this problem and to the concatenated one of the distribution of immigrants once arrived here, and then to draft a bill or bills.

Surely ingenuity can devise a good mode of sifting, whether by the economic test or otherwise. The nation has the right to insist that its immigrants shall hereafter be at least up to the mental, moral, and physical average of the dominions from which they come. It should draw them, too, chiefly from the peoples best assimilable to itself. Any sifting to be effective must be undertaken by our officials in the country of origin, and to make this practicable it might

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be necessary arbitrarily to fix the number of immigrants per year at some such figure as three hundred thousand (approximately the average net annual increase of foreign born, 1900–1910, corresponding to immigration minus numbers returned home). The total to be admitted per year could perhaps be allotted in quotas to different countries in a proportion based upon previous censuses and calculated to insure a sufficient homogeneity and preservation of national type.

In the hope of stimulating efforts to devise an economic test instead of the manifestly unsatisfactory literacy test, there has been introduced in Congress a bill providing that

> no alien who is dependent for his support upon his own manual labor shall be admitted to the United States until he has so supported himself in his own country for at least one year and at a wage, paid him only in compensation for such manual labor and under bona fide arrangement, within thirty per centum of the average scale of wages prevailing in the United States for similar labor, for one year prior to the time of his emigration, and unless he be an alien who is by law otherwise admissible into the United States.

The bill also provides that the percentage of the wage scale of the United States may be adjusted from time to time to suit conditions. It, of course, transfers the main work of examining intended immigrants for the United States to the countries of their origin. This is not only necessary to efficiency, but has the advantage of saving endless trouble and inconvenience to foreign laborers, twenty thousand of whom were sent back on their arrival last year, according to a statement of the Secretary of Labor as reported in the press. In order to make possible the prevention of illegal immigration, which is so difficult on account particularly of our long Canadian and Mexican frontiers, it is provided that foreign laborers shall be supplied certificates attesting the legality of their admission. No one who consults statistics can fail to be appalled at the accelerated rate of increase in the number of defectives. With the view that the planting of a nation should not ignore ascertained scientific facts any more than intelligent agriculture should do so, there is included this stipulation:

> No such alien shall be admitted to the United States if either of his parents shall have been a habitual drunkard, or engaged in the traffic of prostitution, or convicted or imprisoned for a crime involving moral turpitude or shall have been a public charge through any inheritable moral, mental, or physical defect.

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It will be recalled that two or three years ago there was included in an immigration bill before Congress a provision that this Government should require certificates of character in the case of immigrants from countries whose governments issued them. This stipulation was abandoned because it was claimed that it might be used to inflict injustice upon certain immigrants liable to persecution in their own country. Whether or not this point be well taken, it would seem somewhat absurd that, while ostensibly seeking to exclude criminals, the Government of the United States should deny itself the advantage of official information upon the character of foreign immigrants when such is forthcoming. The following provision of the new bill appears to make available the certificate of character while amply safeguarding every interest of any race thought to be subject to persecution in its own land:

> In the case of such intending immigrants from countries the governments of which issue certificates of character or other such evidence of personal status or history, the United States immigration officials shall require such certificates whenever in their judgment they will facilitate determination of the question of admissibility; *Provided,* however, that such certificates shall not be required when it appears to the satisfaction of such officials that to require them would embarrass the applicant because of political, religious, or racial considerations.

Charity begins at home. The welfare of the ninety millions of people now here is the paramount obligation of the State, and it is high time that the idea that the United States of America is a free haven for indiscriminate immigration, whatever its effect on the nation, should be regarded as played out. The quality and economic situation of the nation is vitally important to American citizens. It is equally so to foreigners already here to become citizens and to worthy foreigners, for great numbers of whom there is room, who may come and desire hereafter to be citizens. It is even entirely in the interest of foreigners who come here to work and return to their native lands, because without laws to maintain good economic and social conditions in the United States the country cannot remain attractive and profitable as either a permanent home or a temporary residence.

If the doubtless very imperfect provisions of this rough draft of an immigration bill can serve the purpose of calling attention to the futility of the proposed literacy test, and can stimulate a broader and more scientific study of the

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huge problem of immigration so vital to the national welfare, they will have served a good purpose. The drift of legislation on such great subjects surely makes poignant the need of a scientific Federal legislative reference bureau. The whole course of our policy in immigration, as in so many other matters, emphasizes also our need of less detailed legislation and more scientific administration.

Turning from the subject of immigration, we find in the question of land-ownership by foreigners not easily assimilable, notably the Japanese in California and other States, fresh examples of our tendency to take the troublous course of usually tactless if not almost insulting legislation, rather than the smoother course of broad, general law with administrative flexibility to meet without offense cases as they arise.

The situation in California seems to have been this: Considerable numbers of thrifty Japanese were taking up agricultural lands, were dealing only with their own storekeepers, and were holding themselves aloof from the body of the community. Owing to their superior thrift their competition was felt. Their presence in such greatly increasing numbers as groups in, but not of, the community, was resented. California then proposed to pass a law bluntly prohibiting Japanese from acquiring further lands in the State. There has been agitation for such legislation from time to time in the past few years, and the mitigation of its tone has often been the object of representations to the government of California by the Federal Government. The result has been the passing of a law which among other things excludes Japanese from further acquisition of land-ownership, not by name, but as foreigners not eligible for naturalization. The improved tone of the legislation, thus made slightly more general as actually passed, seems to have failed fully to appease Japanese susceptibilities, if one may judge by the press reports indicating that negotiations are still pending between Tokio and Washington. An examination of existing treaties and their context carries conviction that no Japanese treaty right has been violated by the prohibition to acquire land. And inasmuch as, if the California law was in any respect in conflict with the treaty, the law would be voidable by the Federal courts, it must be the more regretted by enlightened Japanese opinion that agitators in Tokio have been making,

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according to telegrams to the press, a to-do not only rather undignified and ridiculous, but also very regrettable because of its insidious effect upon public opinion in a country bound to the United States by such strong traditions of past service rendered it. Nevertheless, it would have been worth while to make the California legislation so general as not to ruffle even hyper-sensitive susceptibilities.

Since this same question is cropping up in several States, and may come up in respect to other nationalities as well, it would seem desirable to find a formula whereby States could deal with it with less controversy, even if this should happen to necessitate the sufficiently facile step of State constitutional amendment. For example, it might perhaps be provided that no foreigner should acquire ownership of a parcel of land in the State or in a particular locality within the State unless the Governor, after hearing the parties, should in his discretion find that such acquisition of land was not detrimental to economic or social conditions in the State or locality affected, and should thereupon issue over his hand and seal a certificate of permission for the foreign applicant to acquire the land desired. It will be remembered that by the laws of a considerable number of the States of the Union foreigners may not now unrestrictedly acquire ownership of land; and foreigners in Japan, for example, are not permitted to own real estate in fee simple, although they may have leases. The suggested method would seem fairly free from difficulty. It does not affect the enjoyment by foreigners of equal protection with citizens in the rights they have, and the right to acquire land seems to belong in a class of rights as to which there is no reason why a government should by treaty give foreigners national treatment, which carries all rights, except those inherent only in citizenship, exactly equal to those of citizens, whether rights of substantive or of adjective law.

If the continued ownership or lease of particular lands already held by foreigners should at any time be deemed seriously detrimental to economic or social conditions in a given locality, the termination of such holdings might possibly present some difficulties; but quite probably there could be found an analogous administrative method of treating under a general law an occasional individual case through condemnation proceedings and full compensation to the owners. Why should not the right of eminent domain, ordi-

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narily exercised in respect to real-estate interests on grounds of topographical convenience, be exercised for the benefit of the still more important broad, economic, and social interests of a community? Even under a law applicable to all persons such an exercise of eminent domain would rarely, if ever, affect citizens, and, reasonably administered under the scrutiny of the courts, it should seldom be exercised in the case of foreign holdings.

It seems quite possible that there could be devised some such formula as that above roughly outlined which would permit each State to deal as a matter of administration with specific cases of land-ownership by foreigners, would do away with all semblance of wholesale discrimination, would really safeguard the rightful interests of our communities, and would spare the country the manufacture of many rumors of international incidents. To it there may be opposed our ancient prejudice against the bestowal of great administrative powers upon our officials. But the day of too detailed legislation and inadequate administration seems to be passing, as witness, for example, the tremendous powers given the Interstate Commerce Commission. And it must pass if we are to progress. The work of our half-hundred legislatures has not inspired general admiration. It would be disheartening, indeed, if we admitted such a standard of citizenship that we were afraid we could not find the relatively fewer administrators in whose honesty and efficiency we should be willing to repose the heavier individual trust.

Undoubtedly the State governments, like the Federal Government, desire to do justice to foreigners. If they will make greater effort to think nationally as well as locally, and to take intelligent action in these matters affecting foreigners in the least, instead of the most offensive, form, they will perform a patriotic duty to the nation by helping to safeguard it in the great fringe of its interests—national defense, immigration, the treatment of foreigners, and external relations. They will help to make our boundaries safe in order that, secure from outside interruption, the nation may work out the vast and pressing problems of making its national and individual life worthy and satisfactory.

HUNTINGTON WILSON.

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SUPER-DEMOCRACY

BY BENJAMIN IVES GILMAN

"For friendship we believe to be the greatest good of states."—Aristotle. *Politics*, II, 4. "The secret of government, let me tell you, lies in kindly feeling."—Ieyasu, in conversation, 1616.

SUPPOSE a number of persons bent on a purpose demanding effort from all. By whom shall the decisions be made which shall carry it out?

Democracy proposes that they shall be made by a majority among those of the number who possess certain qualifications for control acquiesced in by every one. It is, therefore, not just to democracy to call it a government by count of noses. It is a government by count of superior noses—a different thing, since these are a selection by grace, theoretically, of the total number concerned.

It is a weak point in democratic theory that this proposal may fail to utilize the capacity of citizens to the best advantage. As an undertaking becomes more complex the qualifications for the best management of its parts become different from those demanded for the best management of the whole. The parts would be more successfully handled by persons specially chosen than by any choice of persons based on general capacity. The question arises whether the advantage to the enterprise of this more skilful handling of its parts, or spheres, each by itself, may not be greater than the advantage of their combined control from one source. This question may present itself in two forms. A given sphere in the enterprise may concern only part of the citizenship. Or, concerning them all, it may concern them independently of the rest of the enterprise; that is, no decision in that sphere may prevent any decision as to other affairs, and *vice versa*.

Answering either form of the question in the affirmative, the constitution of a democracy would divide the ultimate

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control of the State. In the first case, the voting class for the sphere in question will be formed from the citizens concerned only. In the second case, it will be formed from the whole citizenship, but by applying different tests. In either case, instead of one voting class, or sovereign people, there will be two, or it may be more, voting classes, or sovereign peoples, each exercising sovereignty within limits laid down in the constitution. A *plures* of voting classes will be formed out of the *unum* which pursues the common end.

The political scheme thus developed is two degrees removed from a government by count of noses. The first step, to one governing electorate, forms a democracy. The second, to several such electorates, forms what may be called a super-democracy. Super-democracy is multiple popular sovereignty. Of its two forms, the first, which provides for the separate control of matters touching some only of the citizenship, may be called federal super-democracy; the second, which provides for the separate control of matters touching all, but in independent ways, may be called internal super-democracy.

Federal super-democracy, foreshadowed in many alliances between independent states in Europe from Greek times, was signally illustrated in the structure of the American Union. In their own affairs the electorates of the individual States are sovereign; in certain specified affairs of general moment, the combined electorates of all, or the voting citizenship of the United States.

Internal super-democracy contemplates a closer union of authorities. The sovereigns sit side by side, ruling the same people by different rights. The classical instance is the alliance of spiritual and temporal power. Suppose a community of persons united in the pursuit of the common weal in both affairs of the soul and affairs of the body. Such a community may intrust the ultimate control of the two to one authority, the State becoming a Church State, and the Church a State Church. This condition has been approximately illustrated throughout European history. Or, ultimate control may be vested in two authorities, Church and State forming a union in the American sense, under a constitution assigning mutually exclusive limits to the two sovereignties. In Dante's vision Europe was to yield allegiance to such a dual system. The Pope and the Emperor were to be the two sources of authority, each ultimate be-

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cause dealing with affairs outside the sphere of the other. Of this compound body politic, or idealized Holy Roman Empire, Dante's programme was the informal constitution, defining the qualifications of one ruler in terms of a priestly succession, and of the other in terms of an imperial line. Applied within the political sphere, and under democracy, the principle would establish various special tests giving the right to vote within special independent spheres, leaving other affairs to the already existing electorate. The right of suffrage would become several rights, individual citizens enjoying one or more, according to their varying qualifications. The State would be governed through a multiple vote, each electorate deciding for the whole population, as a team of horses is controlled through a double set of reins, each hand guiding all.

In practice, the mutually exclusive limitations of sovereignty which are the distinguishing mark of super-democracy, either federal or internal, demand perpetual definition. An essential feature of any super-democratic government is a permanent means of interpreting the universal will in this respect as it is laid down in the Constitution. Such a means is provided in the United States by the Supreme Court, which possesses a paramount judicial right—that of deciding between sovereign States by interpreting a verbal definition of their separate powers. Under internal super-democracy, each sovereign State would possess a like tribunal for the interpretation of limits of jurisdiction constitutionally established among the new union of powers within it.

The success of the federal system in the Government of the United States has had its share in developing home rule the world over. The principle concerned is not that of local self-government. It is not the delegation of power by an authority constituted with the right to resume it; but an assignment of power by a Constitution, irrevocable except through amendment by theoretical consent of the entire population. Our Union provides for local independence, within limits interpreted by a court.

An all-important application is open to federal super-democracy. In world politics federation offers the only hope of peace. To obviate a conflict of powers, either the authority of one must prevail over the rest, or limits must be assigned by all to the authority of each. The first alternative is

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either repellent or ridiculous. If domination by a single race be supposed attained by force of arms, it proposes a revolting waste of most of the material of civilization. If by peaceful means, the plan is absurd in view of the enormous disproportion between the problems presented by all peoples and the capacities of any one. A federal union of powers is the only practicable issue of international affairs. The nations of the world must eventually come to an agreement regarding their territorial limits, and agree also to abide by the decision of an international supreme court, like the tribunal of The Hague, in the interpretation of their jurisdiction. Were their union restricted to these two agreements, none would yield any existing sovereignty. Each would hold, by consent of all, the right of ultimate control over certain independent means to the common end of civilization. Until in the opinion of some one this right was abused by some other, none of their energy would be devoted to mutual destruction. There will be war among men whenever any are willing to attempt what others would rather die than permit; and there ought to be war whenever any willing that others should live their way are forbidden to live their own. What is needed between nations, and what would be supplied by their federal union, is an agreement to live and let live.

Has internal super-democracy also a place in politics? It would but reapply a fundamental canon of democracy, which the federal system has already transcended. Democracy proposes that a selection from those concerned in given affairs shall control them; the federal system that no one who is not concerned shall control them. Has the democratic canon—that qualifications agreed to by all give a part the right to control all—its share also in political development? Is this a germinal principle? Should the final power of the people be specialized as well as localized?—desynthesized as well as decentralized?

Three facts of current democratic politics point toward this course.

The weak point in democratic theory has plainly shown itself in practice. Existing democracy admittedly fails to utilize the political capacity of citizens to the best advantage. Throughout our Union the voting classes are assuming direct control of government with a view to better service in public affairs. Direct primary action, direct election of

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Senators, the initiative, referendum, and recall are methods chosen. Internal super-democracy would propose instead that citizens should divide the control of government with a view to a better mastery over public affairs. The great obstacle is private interest. The multiple vote would seek to call intelligence to the aid of public spirit in the fight against greed. With special spheres in charge of special capacity the political duties remaining would in turn be brought within the general capacity left in their control. At present the one electorate finds a threatening antagonist in ignorant or selfish wealth. Democracy tends toward plutocracy. Where political power is equal, riches become the sole form of superiority to which all must defer. A multiple vote, by making special capacity also a power to which all must defer, would challenge the prestige as well as the power of money.

Second, in the course of the movement for direct popular government in some of our Western States, a kind of special capacity is already liberating itself within the present single suffrage. It is reported that the burden of the initiative and referendum is so great that only those vote upon a given question who have some particular interest in it. This is in itself rough-and-ready super-democracy. The ultimate decision in these questions is given, not by the whole electorate, but by partial electorates spontaneously developed from it. Internal super-democracy would legitimize this condition; placing certain public affairs now at times *de facto* in the hands of those most interested, *de jure* in the hands accounted most competent.

Third, one type of multiple suffrage is already widely established by law. Voters on school questions are often a different class from those controlling other matters, by the addition of women. The two sexes together are deemed more competent within this sphere than men alone. The special electorate includes the general electorate in this case; but were only married women added, as has been suggested, and single men subtracted, neither body of voters would include the other, and the multiple suffrage would be illustrated in its normal form.

Pursuing this development, the control of the defense of a State might be reserved to those able to bear arms or otherwise take part in war; control in questions affecting paid labor to employers and employed, including self-supporting

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minors; control in questions of public health or of legal procedure to persons passing tests of knowledge of these subjects; control in questions of trade, finance, or agriculture to persons concerned in these pursuits. The sphere reserved to the general electorate would include the decision of those broader matters and the choice of those more conspicuous officers in which experience indicates that the wider the basis of suffrage the wiser the action. The partition of sovereignty within an internal union according to this or any other plan would be matter for a discussion supplementary to the explanation and defense of our existing Federal Union given in the *Federalist* of 1788.

A representative assembly chosen under internal super-democracy would consist of members in different standing. The groups chosen by each electorate would be comparable to the permanent committees of our present legislatures, excepting that they would be chosen to their limited office not by colleagues but the people; would deliberate in public and would legislate. The reference of questions from the whole body to one or another group would be advisory only and subject, if disputed, to the decision of a supreme court.

A compromise is possible which would look toward the multiple suffrage without actually introducing it. All persons passing a test of special fitness for the management of a certain branch of public affairs might be given one or more additional votes in this branch. These voters would tend to control it unless the rest of the electorate were interested to combine against their opinion. In so far the arrangement would illustrate a familiar maxim of business administration—"Choose subordinates well and leave them free." The general electorate of a State by amendment to its Constitution would choose plural voters for their fitness to perform special duties, and would leave them for the most part free, retaining the opportunity of fiat and veto over their acts as subordinates. Such a scheme might be introduced experimentally for a term of years; and were it to prove successful and the fiat and veto of the general electorate to prove unnecessary, full super-democracy would be its natural successor.

The establishment of a multiple suffrage promises three collateral advantages.

First, the debate over votes for women would be shifted to new ground. For the question—Shall women have the

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vote?—would be substituted the question—What votes shall women have? Since the identical question would be asked concerning men, the factor of sex would disappear from the discussion, save as one element of fitness like another.

Again, a multiple suffrage would contribute to solve the problem of the undeveloped and unassimilated elements of our population: the African race in the South and alien immigration elsewhere. The political power of both being less, it would offer less danger and provoke less debate and fewer defensive measures.

A multiple suffrage would, finally, tend to lighten the burden of the individual voter, already heavy and certain to increase. The ballot grows longer from two causes. Its scope is becoming at once more direct and more extensive. Governmental control is reaching over more and more matters hitherto independently managed. Every such addition to the functions of the State transfers to ultimate decision by the ballot a sphere hitherto reserved to private choice. Socialism, never before so widely or so boldly advocated, would make the process complete so far as productive wealth is concerned. Like Frankenstein, society to-day debates whether it can curb, or whether it must destroy the monster to which it has given life, and which has never ceased to prey upon its creator. To abolish private property in all instruments of production, as Socialism proposes, would be to add to the scope of the vote a mass of affairs more multifarious even than all it now controls. The goal may never be reached, but progress toward it is certain. Some way of lessening the responsibilities of voting citizens is imperatively demanded. Internal super-democracy offers a way by proposing that they share political duty between them.

Under super-democracy government reverts to control by classes. But they are not classes like the *Etats Généraux* of European history, founded in part on birth or ecclesiastical rank. They are classes like those of our sports, formed to the satisfaction of all by ratings based on experience of the specific affairs concerned. In this contrast lies the whole distinction between aristocracy and democracy. Aristocracy forbids and democracy demands that the qualifications for authority should be capable of statement in abstract terms, and without naming individuals. Aristocracy

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respects persons; democracy, qualities. Aristocracy says, "Blood will tell"; Democracy answers, "Let it, then"; the one offering credit, the other demanding cash. To respect a person is to infer merit from another in some way connected with him; to respect qualities is to find merit in himself. Aristocracy consists in wearing borrowed finery; democracy, in keeping to one's own. Aristocracy assumes; democracy tests. The initial generality of our Declaration of Independence glitters with radiance from beyond the political sphere. The words "All men are created equal" announce that righteous government does not make exceptions, but proceeds by the invariable application of rules. The doctrine of equality appears in the claim of the prophet Ezekiel that reward and punishment should follow not personality, but merit and fault; and in the reported injunction of his contemporary Lao-tze, "Do not value the man, value the man's abilities." It reappears in the classical definition of liberty as that political condition in which no person is above the law. Forbidding alike the assignment of rank or the proscription of race, it demands that every preference shall be based on fact. But to conceive that it demands that no preference be shown is a double blunder. The belief that one man is as good as another at anything is a pseudo-democracy, at once the caricature and the contradiction of the veritable doctrine of equality. It is a caricature, for the doctrine is not the absurd statement that all men are of like capacity, but the weighty principle that men seen to be of like capacity are to be treated alike. Men are to be held equal until experience proves them unequal. Not their different rating is the condemnable thing, but their vicarious rating. It is, furthermore, a contradiction, for democratic practice, far from rejecting the different rating of men, is founded upon it. Democracy begins by the selection of a voting class from among the governed by accepted tests of fitness to control. A government by classes such as super-democracy proposes is not the abandonment of democratic practice, but its rational pursuit under democratic principle.

The aim pursued is the best use of special capacity for the common weal. Democracy recognizes general capacity alone, trusting that it in turn will recognize special capacity. Super-democracy recognizes special capacity directly; not only opens a career to talent, as Napoleon is reported to

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have said of the French Revolution, but insures a career to various forms of it. In so doing it provides a remedy for what is at once a defect of democracy practically manifest, and theoretically its only defect. Super-democracy is democracy perfected; political authority ideally exercised.

What are the marks of this ideal? Authority is exercised whenever one person chooses to do something because another chooses he shall. But freedom consists in doing what one chooses to do oneself. Is not any authority its denial, and ideal government a contradiction in terms? So philosophical anarchy holds, but only by overlooking plain facts. Authority is not only the power to compel, but the power to impel; not only the power to reward and punish, but the power to guide. Suppose what another chooses to have me do I would have chosen to do myself, could I have conceived the plan? If I do it, I am free, since I am doing what I now want; and I am also under authority, since I am doing it because another has chosen that I shall. The case is possible, indeed is actual in myriads of instances round the globe every day. Freedom and authority coalesce therein. A single act illustrates both. This is the ideal of the Hebrew Psalmist "And I will walk at liberty, for I seek thy commandments." It is the ideal of Dante's line, "*In la sua voluntade è nostra pace,*" and of the English ascription, "Whose service is perfect freedom." Involved in such service are two things: an aim common to governor and governed; and a belief on the part of the governed that the governor can direct the accomplishment of that aim better than the governed himself. The marks of ideal authority are two, expressible in the two words, unity and capacity. Democracy gives unity; it presupposes the consent of the governed to the aim of the government. But it does not use capacity; it fails to secure the consent of the governed to the means of the government. They do not serve the State in perfect freedom, but in part because they must. Super-democracy, by dividing ultimate power, utilizes the capacity of citizens to the best advantage, and thus secures a government by the complete consent of the governed.

According to Aristotle, happiness is the sign of inward perfection, as a glowing cheek is the sign of health. The happiness of a State, the sign of its inward perfection, is friendship between its citizens. This it is that gives the body politic the glow of health. Super-democracy alone

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affords friendship a political basis; and by this sign, as well as by the perfect freedom of its service, is approved as the political ideal.

The three forms of popular government—democracy, federal super-democracy, and internal super-democracy—involve a progressive change in the feelings of individual citizens toward one another. All popular government presupposes sympathy of purpose between governors and governed. The total population is assumed to be animated by a common love of country. Further, a democracy is composed of a class of persons with equal authority and a residuum having none. Such a scheme affords ground for respect from any disfranchised person toward any enfranchised person, but no ground for respect between voters. Under federal super-democracy this condition is changed. The voters have no longer identical power. A given voter may not share the whole sphere of command possessed by a given other—to be sure by exception of matters which do not concern him. Nevertheless, a certain ground for respect between voters is inherent in the arrangement. In the United States, a Missourian possesses a sovereign power—namely, over Missouri affairs—denied a Pennsylvanian, and *vice versa*. The voters of Switzerland exercise like cantonal rights. Federal super-democracy provides at least a foothold for mutual respect. Internal super-democracy does more. Here the different authority of different voters may be exercised over one another. In general each of the different electorates would come to contain individuals not included in others. All persons so placed would find themselves governors, in one matter, of persons by whom they were governed in some other. They would have cause to feel reciprocally, not a remote respect for authority they did not share, but which also did not concern them, but an immediate respect for authority over themselves.

These conditions are those of friendship. Friendship is based on community of aim and difference of capacity in its pursuit. The conditions are three: sameness of purpose between two persons; respect of one for some superiority of the other in its achievement; and the return of respect for some different superiority by the other. Friends are alike at heart and complements in head and hand. Helpers and not competitors, the powers of each have for the other the charm of the *ignotum* held ***pro magnifico.***

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Democratic theory, beside illustrating the first condition of friendship, sympathy of purpose, illustrates also, in the relation of the disfranchised to the enfranchised, the second. But under democracy the third condition of friendship—a reciprocal acknowledgment of superior capacity in the use of means toward the common end—has no political basis. The return of respect for political authority first becomes possible, in however unimpressive a way, within a union of sovereign States. Federal super-democracy alone among forms of government sows the seeds of friendship between citizens. Finally, under internal super-democracy, friendship receives a basis not only seen, but felt. Respect becomes not only reciprocal, but vital. The seeds of friendship are not only sown, but quickened into life. The necessary mutual respect of many rulers provides a permanent source of kindly feeling throughout the State.[1]

Unless all political omens fail, Demos will finally go his way with other kings. The United States took the first step in super-democracy. When sovereignty was shared instead of centered among them, unity, capacity, and amity became the bases of the national life. The gay geometry of our flag expresses more than a comparison between our present and our past. In its blue heaven, above the red and white of parted cloud, appears a symbol of the perfect State—consisting not of planets round a sun, but of self-luminous stars.

[1] *Note.* The inability of democracy to utilize the political capacity of citizens is the theme of M. Emile Faguet's brilliant and profound book *Le Culte de l'Incompétence* (Paris, 1910). The last chapter, "*Le Rêve*," outlines a "*synergie sociale*" altogether in the spirit of super-democracy, and ends with the words "*Amicitia sit!*" M. Faguet writes: "It is essential to give scope to technical competence, to intellectual competence, to moral competence, even if the national sovereignty comes to be limited thereby, and even if equality suffers. . . . What is necessary and always will be necessary is a mixture of aristocracy and democracy. . . . But this mixed constitution should not be a simple juxtaposition, which would only bring hostile elements into contact. I have said mixture, and should have said combination. . . . A healthy State is one in which the aristocracy finds something to admire in the people, and the people in the aristocracy. . . ."

Reading for "aristocracy" the special electorates of super-democracy, and for "the people" the general electorate of democracy, from which they are developed, the outline of M. Faguet recognizes multiple sovereignty as the necessary issue of popular government, and finds in the kindly feeling which it implies the sign of social health. Equality would suffer by the change, as M. Faguet notes, but only the counterfeit principle, not the true one.

BENJAMIN IVES GILMAN.

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CHRISTIANITY AND CHRISTIAN SCIENCE

BY REV. RANDOLPH HARRISON McKIM, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE claims to be a new and improved edition of the Christian religion, resting upon a revelation made in the year 1866. It professes to accept and interpret the Bible—yet it has put forth another Bible of its own for which it claims infallibility. It uses the language of the old Bible. It calls Christ "Master." It tells us that Christ practised Christian Science. Indeed, it says, "Christ is Christian Science."

We must, then, face the question, Is this new religion really a new revelation from God? Is it a new and improved Christianity?

The author of the article on this subject in the December issue of THE REVIEW is of opinion that it is, and that the only salvation of Protestantism lies in frankly adopting the principles and methods of Christian Science. I propose to answer his question by simply comparing the Creed of Christendom with the Creed of Christian Science.

Let us proceed, then, to institute a comparison between the Creed of Christianity and the Creed of the system which calls itself Christian Science.

1. "I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of Heaven and Earth"—that is the first article of the Christian Creed. It involves, as you perceive, two statements, (1) that God is our Father, and (2) that God is the Creator of Heaven and Earth.

Compare with this the Creed of Christian Science: "God is definitely individual and not personal"; God is "the infinite and divine principle"; "God is divine principle"; "God as a principle, not a person, saves a man"; "God is not a Person."

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But if God is not a personal God, but only a principle, how can He be a Father? How can He love us? How can He pity us? How can we call Him our Father?

Again, the text-book of Christian Science declares that "Matter is unreal" (*Science and Health,* ed. of 1893, p. 173); and again, "There is no matter"; matter is "nothing but a mortal illusion." Commenting on the Genesis record of Creation, the author of this religion says, "The translators of this record entertained a false sense of Being. They believed in *the existence of matter*" (*Id.* p. 525).

If this be true, then God is not the Maker of heaven and earth; for nothing can be more certain than that that which never has existed has never been created. Indeed, it is plainly asserted in this new Bible that God is not the Creator of matter (*Id.* p. 119, ed. of 1907).

2. The second article of the Christian Creed is this: "I believe in Jesus Christ, His only Son our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried; he descended into hell."

Now what has the text-book of Christian Science to say on this subject? What is its creed about Jesus Christ? It tells us "that the Virgin Mother conceived this idea of God, and gave to her ideal the name of Jesus." (Thus Jesus was simply the *ideal of the Virgin.* (*Id.* p. 29, ed. of 1907.)

It denies that "the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us." It distinguishes between Jesus and Christ. It tells us that Jesus suffered, but Christ never suffered. Christ was "the spiritual idea of divine love" (p. 38). It says, "Christ was incorporeal, whereas Jesus was a corporeal or bodily existence." After the so-called Ascension, Jesus disappeared, he ceased to exist: Christ alone remained, and Christ was an invisible, impersonal idea. Thus Christian Science denies the reality of the Incarnation, on which the faith of the Christian Church has been built for nineteen centuries. Christian Science says that Jesus separated from Christ after the Resurrection; but the Bible says "Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever." The Bible also says "Every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God; and this is that spirit of anti-Christ."

Again, it has been the faith of the Christian Church from

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the beginning that Jesus Christ was the Eternal Son of God—that He was Divine—" God manifest in the flesh." But I have found no evidence of any such faith in the divinity of Jesus Christ in the Bible of Christian Science. On the contrary, Jesus is represented as not always superior to the errors of mortal belief. I read, " The Spiritual Christ was *infallible;* Jesus, as material manhood, *was not Christ* " (*Science and Health,* p. 84, ed. of 1893). The authoress concedes that " He has been rightfully regarded as the best man who ever trod this planet " (p. 364). Consider now the life, the works, and the mission of Jesus. According to the text-book of Christian Science, Jesus wrought no miracles. Indeed, " miracles are impossible " (p. 83, ed. of 1907). We are informed that " Jesus healed the sick and destroyed sin by a metaphysical process " (p. 210, ed. of 1907). In fact, he practised Christian Science, but in an imperfectly developed form. Take as a crucial instance the raising of Lazarus. The authoress of this cult boldly says, " Jesus restored Lazarus by the understanding that he had never died, not by an admission that his body had died and then lived again "—although we read in St. John's Gospel, " Then said Jesus unto them, plainly, Lazarus is dead "—and although we read again that he had been dead four days when Jesus called him to life again. " By this time," said Martha, " he stinketh."

I now call attention to one of the most astounding assertions to be found in this new Bible of this new religion: it denies that Jesus died on the Cross; it denies that He rose from the dead. Here is its language:

" His disciples believed Jesus dead while he was hidden in the sepulcher, whereas he was alive, demonstrating within the narrow tomb the power of spirit to overrule mortal, material sense " (p. 44, ed. of 1907).

In fact, He was engaged those three days in the sepulcher in resuscitating His wasted energies, healing His torn palms, binding up His wounded side and lacerated feet—and all this " on the basis of Christian Science " (p. 44). This absolute contradiction of all the gospel records and of the Creed of all the Christian ages is worthy of careful attention.

If we consider now the mission of Jesus Christ—the purpose of His coming—we find in the text-book of Christian Science another complete contradiction to the Chris-

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tian Creed. That Creed has been expressed for nineteen centuries in the words of the angel, "Call His name Jesus, for He shall save His people from their sins." But it appears in this new evangel that Christ came to save men, not from their sins, but from the false belief that they are sinners. Here is the language used by the founder of Christian Science, "Matter and evil (including all inharmony, *sin,* disease, and death) are unreal." "It (evil or sin) is a false belief." "Man is incapable of sin." "Is there no sin? The only reality of sin is the awful fact that unrealities seem real." But "If there is no sin, why did Jesus come to save sinners? *Jesus came to seek and to save them from this false belief*" (*Miscellanies,* p. 63). Again we read, "Jesus came to seek and to save such as believe in the reality of the unreal! to save them from this false belief." Once more: "To get rid of sin thro' Christian Science is to divest sin of any supposed reality" (p. 234, ed. of 1893). Thus Christian Science contradicts the words of the Angel; contradicts the words of the apostles; contradicts the Christian Creed; contradicts the words of Christ Himself, when they affirm, as they all do with one accord, that the mission of Christ was to save sinners from their sins.

It is not surprising, then, that we find no doctrine of Atonement in the Creed of Christian Science. Christ is never held up as the great High Priest who made on the Cross the one perfect and sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the whole world. It teaches that "another's suffering cannot lessen our liability." The only atonement it knows is "constant self-immolation on the part of the sinner." That is to say, the sinner makes his own atonement. Again we are told, "Reformation cancels the crime." Christ said, "This is my blood of the new Testament which is shed for you for the remission of sins." St. Paul said, "Christ made peace by the blood of His Cross"; and again, "We were reconciled to God by the death of His Son." And St. John says, "The blood of Jesus Christ His Son cleanseth from all sin."

But this founder of a new religion tells us "the material blood of Jesus was no more efficacious to cleanse from sin when it was shed upon the accursed tree than when it was flowing through his veins" (p. 25, ed. of 1907).

3. Let us now pass to another article of the Christian

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Creed concerning Christ: "The third day He rose again from the dead." What has Christian Science to say to this? It simply denies it. Denying that He died on the Cross, it necessarily follows that it denies that He rose from the dead. Here is its language: His disciples "saw Him after His crucifixion, and learned that He had not died." Thus the Rock upon which the Christian Faith and the Christian Church were built nineteen centuries ago is dissolved into unreality. As we reflect upon this we hear the echo of the great apostle's voice, "If Christ be not risen, then is your faith vain; ye are yet in your sins."

4. The next article of the Christian Creed expresses faith in the Ascension of Christ: "He ascended into Heaven." Christian Science understands this to mean that "He rose even higher in the understanding of Spirit, God."

"His unchanged physical condition after what seemed to be death was followed by his exaltation above all material conditions, and explained his ascension. . . . In this His final demonstration, *called the Ascension*, . . . He rose above the physical knowledge of His disciples" (p. 46). Elsewhere it is taught that Christ and Jesus continued together apparently as one till after the Ascension, then Jesus disappeared—and Jesus was only a corporeal concept.

In other words, the objective fact of the Ascension is denied.

5. The Christian Creed goes on next to affirm the belief that Christ, who has ascended into heaven, shall come again to judge the world: "From thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead." Let me say in one word that Christian Science denies the Second Coming of Christ. Here is what its author teaches: "Christ's Second Coming is Christian Science" (p. 587, ed. of 1893). The Bible says, "The Lord Himself shall descend from heaven"—but this inventor of a new cult tells us that Christ means the religious system she discovered in the year 1866!

As to Christ's coming to judge the world, this new Bible tells us in so many words, "No final judgment awaits mortals" (p. 187, ed. of 1893).

6. I pass to the next article in the Christian Creed: "*I believe in the Holy Ghost.*" Christian Science denies the personality of the Holy Ghost. The woman who invented it, dares to say that by the Holy Ghost is to be understood

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"Christian Science." Commenting on the words of Christ, "He shall give you another Comforter, that He may abide with you forever." She says, "This Comforter I understand to be Divine Science"—which is her term for the system which she has promulgated. I may here remark that the doctrine of the Trinity is not part of the Creed of Christian Science. It is alluded to as "a theory."

7. The only other article of the Creed that my space allows me to compare with the Creed of Christian Science is this, "I believe in the Resurrection of the body."

Now St. Paul has taught us that "flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God, neither doth corruption inherit incorruption," so that we do not expect at the Resurrection a body of flesh and blood, but a spiritual body.

But Christian Science denies that there will be any resurrection of the body in any sense. It says: "The belief that material bodies return to dust, hereafter to rise up as spiritual bodies, is incorrect" (p. 73, ed. of 1907).

And now I ask your readers to consider the result of the comparison which I have made between the Christian Creed and the Creed of Christian Science. In every instance I have quoted the very words of the authorized writings of the founder of this new cult. And the result is that every article of the Apostles' Creed which expresses the faith of Christendom is denied by Christian Science. The two systems are thus seen to be wholly different—yes, diametrically opposed. They represent two different religions—not two phases of the same religion. So sharp is this antithesis that if one is true the other must be false. They cannot both be true.

Let me also point out that the conclusions I have reached rest upon a solid foundation, because I have drawn them entirely from the book called *Science and Health,* which is the Bible of this new religion—declared by its founder to be absolutely without error, and from one or two other authorized writings of the same person. Hence the conclusion is absolutely unassailable, that the Creed of Christian Science and the Christian Creed are mutually contradictory. But I do not assert that all Christian Scientists have forsaken all the articles of the Christian Creed. I hope that very many of them are inconsistent with their new Creed, and hold fast at least to some of the elements

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of the Christianity on which they have formally turned their backs.

Before concluding let me indicate briefly some of the *claims* and some of the *tenets* of Christian Science. As to the former, the author of the cult tells us that her discovery of the true philosophy of religion in 1866 was a fresh fulfilment of the prophecy of Emmanuel, "God with us" (p. 107). It was a new Gospel. It was, in fact, Christ himself (p. 242). It was a permanent dispensation to remain forever among men; and its mission is "to take away the sins of the world" (p. 150)—the thing which the Christian Church has always hitherto attributed to Jesus Christ.

It claims, also, that if men will faithfully follow the philosophy of Christian Science, "death will be obsolete" (p. 90); "perpetual youth will be attained" (p. 245), in proof of which an instance is cited of a lady of ninety years developing a complete new set of teeth under the influence of Christian Science! (p. 247). Finally, it is claimed that "when we wake to the truth of Being, all error, pain, weakness, weariness, sorrow, sin, and death will be unknown" (p. 219). Even the lightning "will become harmless" (p. 97).

As we listen to these claims, we say to ourselves,—"and yet the author and discoverer and apostle of this strange cult, who has been almost worshiped for a generation by her followers—even she succumbed to the stroke of death!"

A word may be added concerning some of the *tenets* of Christian Science. Here are some of them:

Disease is a belief—an illusion (p. 168). Disease does not exist (p. 184). Sickness, sin, and death are not realities (p. 184). Death is a mortal dream (p. 42). The decomposition of mortal bodies in what is called death arises from a mental illusion (p. 92).

"You say a boil is painful; that is impossible!" (p. 231). "Suffering and disease are the self-imposed beliefs of mortals, and not the facts of being" (p. 221).

"The body would never be weary but for the mind saying so" (p. 218).

"Colds, coughs, and contagion are engendered wholly by human theories" (p. 220). Even poison, though inadvertently taken, will kill only because the majority of people believe it will. It is interesting—and not a little sugges-

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tive—that in spite of the boundless healing powers attributed to Christian Science, its author advises that surgical cases and broken bones be left to the surgeons. Here is her language, "Until the advancing age admits the efficacy and supremacy of mind, it is better to leave surgery and the adjustment of broken bones and dislocations to the fingers of a surgeon"! (p. 401).

Here it ought to be pointed out that, contrary to the popular impression, Christian Science does not exalt the power of prayer to heal the sick. On the contrary, it distinctly discourages it. The new Bible of this strange religion definitely teaches that we should not "implore a corporeal God to heal the sick out of his personal volition," but rather we should "understand the infinitely divine principle which heals." Again, she says, "Prayer to a personal God is a hindrance" (p. 635, ed. of 1893). "I earnestly advise all Christian Scientists to remove from their observation or study the personal sense of any one" (*Id.*). But is it *possible* to pray without contemplating the Divine personality? Once more, "The prayer of faith shall save the sick, says the Scripture. The only beneficial effect of such prayer for the sick is in the human mind, making it act more powerfully on the body, through a blind faith in God" (p. 317, ed. of 1893). Yet again, "God is not influenced by man" (*Id.*). "Prayer to a personal God hinders spiritual growth." "This common custom of praying for the sick finds help in blind unbelief" (*Id.* p. 318, ed. of 1893).

This review of the teaching of Mrs. Mary Baker Eddy inevitably brings to mind the words of Christ to His disciples, "Take heed that no man deceive you, for many shall come in my name, saying, 'I am Christ,' and shall deceive many." And the conclusion is inevitable, also. This new religion is not the Christian religion, and whoever leaves the Christian Church to attach himself to it becomes an apostate from Christianity. Its treatment of the Bible can only be described as "handling the word of God deceitfully." Using its phraseology, it evacuates it of its plain meaning, not hesitating even to flatly contradict its statements.

In confirmation of this indictment, the following examples may suffice: The Bible says Jesus died on the Cross and arose from the dead. This woman's new Bible says Jesus did not

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die, and did not rise from the dead. The Bible says, "When we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son." This nineteenth-century self-appointed prophetess changes this as follows: "When we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the (*seeming*) death of His Son."

The prophet Isaiah says of the Messiah, "Unto us a child is born, unto us a Son is given, . . . and His name shall be called Wonderful, Counselor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace." This sublime prophecy is interpreted to predict the birth of Christian Science—born of a thrice-married and once-divorced woman. Accordingly we read in one of her writings, "*The Star of Bethlehem is the Star of Boston.*"[1]

If any one replies, How can this system be false when we see the wonderful cures wrought by it? In reply, I will not enter into any discussion of the reality of those cures, or the method by which they are wrought, but I will simply say, If every one of them has really been wrought, that does not prove the truth of Christian Science; for our Saviour warns us that the "false Christs and false prophets shall show great signs and wonders; in so much that they shall deceive the very elect."

Christians are commanded to "try the spirits whether they be of God," to test every doctrine by the Word of God, and, if it cannot stand that test, to know that "it is not of God." This I have done. It is for your readers to judge of the result.

I have deemed it entirely unnecessary to deal with the assertions and the negations of the article which has suggested this paper. It is enough, in answer to the question, "*Must Protestantism Adopt Christian Science?*" to show that the two systems are irreconcilable—hence Protestantism can only adopt Christian Science by abandoning and repudiating every fundamental doctrine for which it stands.

I forbear to comment on the railing accusations with which the article abounds against the Christian Church and the

[1] It is often difficult to verify quotations from *Science and Health*, because of the extraordinary changes made in successive editions of the book. Thus the *first* chapter in one edition becomes the *sixth* in another; the *second* becomes the *seventh;* the *third* becomes the *eighth*, etc. Consequently, the pagination in the different editions is sometimes entirely different, and verification of quotations is often practically impossible.

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Christian Ministry. It combines an extravagant eulogy of Christian Scientists with an extraordinary denunciation of the sins and failures of the Christian Church. The Christian Church is "materialized"; it "lives for itself"; it is "a party to the system of oppression of Divine manhood"; it retains bad members "because they help support the Church"; it is full of "materialism," "selfishness," and "the absence of the sense of God"; in short, it suggests Christ's rebuke, "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!"

To this philippic against the Christian Church it is quite unnecessary here to reply. One thing, however, inevitably suggests itself as one reads the article. This anonymous and unknown priest of the Protestant Episcopal Church must have been very unfortunate in his experience, as a witness for Christ and a guide of souls, if the picture he here presents is drawn in any large degree from the results of his own ministry.

RANDOLPH HARRISON MCKIM.

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SCIENCE AND LITERATURE

BY JOHN BURROUGHS

It is not in the act of seeing things or apprehending facts that we differ so much from one another, as in the act of interpreting what we see or apprehend. Interpretation opens the door to the play of temperament and imagination, and to the bias of personality. A mind that has a lively fancy and a sense of mystery will interpret phenomena quite differently from a mind in which these things are absent. The poetic, the religious, the ethical mind, will never be satisfied with the interpretation of the physical universe given us by the scientific mind. To these mental types such an interpretation seems hard and barren; it leaves a large part of our human nature unsatisfied. If a man of science were to explain to a mother all the physical properties, functions, and powers of her baby, and all its natural history, would the mother see her baby in such a portraiture? Would he have told her why she loves it? It is the province of literature and art to tell her why she loves it, and to make her love it more; of science to tell her how she came by it, and how to secure its physical well-being. Literature interprets life and nature in terms of our sentiments and emotions; science interprets them in terms of our understanding.

The habit of mind begotten by the contemplation of nature, and by our emotional intercourse with her, is in many ways at enmity with the habit of mind begotten by the scientific study of nature. The former has given us literature, art, religion; out of the latter has come our material civilization. Out of it has also come our enlarged conception of the physical universe, and a true insight as to our relations with it, albeit this gain seems to have been purchased, more or less, at the expense of that state of mind that in the past has given us the great poets and prophets and religious teachers and inspirers.

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As I have said, the two types of mind, the scientific and the artistic, the analytic and the synthetic, look upon nature and life with quite different eyes. Wordsworth said of his poet that he was "contented to enjoy what others understood." When Whitman, as he records in one of his poems, fled from the lecture-hall where the "learned astronomer" was discoursing about the stars, and in silence gazed up at the sky gemmed with them, he showed clearly to which type he belonged. Tyndall said that men of warm feelings, with minds open to the elevating impressions produced by nature as a whole, whose satisfaction therefore is rather ethical than logical, lean to the synthetic side, while the analytic harmonizes best with the more precise and more mechanical bias which seeks the satisfaction of the understanding. Tyndall said of Goethe that while his discipline as a poet went well with his natural history studies, it hindered his approach to the physical and mechanical sciences: "He could not formulate distinct mechanical conceptions; he could not see the force of mechanical reasoning," as Tyndall himself could see it. Tyndall was a notable blending of the two types of mind; to his proficiency in analytical and experimental science he joined literary gifts of a high order. It is these gifts that make his work rank high in the literature of science.

Tyndall was wont to explain his mechanistic views of creation to Carlyle, whom he greatly revered. But Carlyle did not take kindly to them. This was one of the phases of physical science which repelled him. Carlyle revolted at the idea that the sun was the physical basis of life. He could not endure any teaching that savored of materialism. He would not think of the universe as a machine, but as an organism. Igdrasil, the Tree of Life, was his favorite image. Considering how the concrete forces of the universe circulate and pull together, he found no similitude so true as that of the tree—"Beautiful, altogether beautiful and great," said he. "The Machine of the universe—alas! do think of that in contrast!"

Carlyle was a poet and a prophet and saw the world through his moral and spiritual nature, and not through his logical faculties. He revolted at the conception of the mystery we name life being the outcome of physical and chemical forces alone.

Literature, art, and religion are not only not fostered by

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the scientific spirit, but this spirit, it would seem, is almost fatal to them, at least so far as it banishes mystery and illusion, and checks or inhibits our anthropomorphic tendencies. Literature and art have their genesis in love, joy, admiration, speculation, and not in the exact knowledge which is the foundation of science. Our creative faculties may profit by exact knowledge of material things, but they can hardly be inspired by it. Inspiration is from within, but scientific knowledge is from without.

There is no literature or art without love and contemplation. We can make literature out of science only when we descend upon it with love, or with some degree of emotional enjoyment. Natural history, geology, biology, astronomy, yield literary material only to the man of emotion and imagination. Into the material gathered from outward nature the creative artist puts himself, as the bee puts herself into the nectar she gathers from the flowers to make it into honey. Honey is the nectar plus the bee; and a poem, or other work of art, is fact and observation plus the man. In so far as scientific knowledge checks our tendency to humanize nature, and to infuse ourselves into it, and give to it the hues of our own spirits, it is the enemy of literature and art. In so far as it gives us a wider and truer conception of the material universe, which it certainly has done in every great science, it ought to be their friend and benefactor. Our best growth is attained when we match knowledge with love, insight with reverence, understanding with sympathy and enjoyment; else the machine becomes more and more, and the man less and less.

Fear, superstition, misconception, have played a great part in the literature and religion of the past; they have given it reality, picturesqueness, and power; it remains to be seen if love, knowledge, democracy, and human brotherhood can do as well.

The literary treatment of scientific matter is naturally of much more interest to the general reader than to the man of science. By literary treatment I do not mean taking liberties with facts, but treating them so as to give the reader a lively and imaginative realization of them—a sense of their esthetic and intellectual values. The creative mind can quicken a dead fact and make it mean something in the emotional sphere.

When we humanize things, we are beyond the sphere of

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science and in the sphere of literature. We may still be dealing with truths, but not with facts. Tyndall, in his *Fragments,* very often rises from the sphere of science into that of literature. He does so, for instance, in considering the question of personal identity in relation to that of molecular change in the body. He asks:

> How is the sense of personal identity maintained across this flight of the molecules that goes on incessantly in our bodies, so that while our physical being, after a certain number of years, is entirely renewed, our consciousness exhibits no solution of continuity? Like changing sentinels, the oxygen, hydrogen, and carbon that depart seem to whisper their secret to their comrades that arrive, and thus, while the Non-ego shifts, the Ego remains the same. Constancy of form in the grouping of the molecules, and not constancy of the molecules themselves, is the correlative of this constancy of perception. Life is a *wave* which in no two consecutive moments of existence is composed of the same particles.

Tyndall has here stated a scientific fact in the picturesque and poetic manner of literature. Henri Bergson does this on nearly every page. When his subject-matter is scientific, his treatment of it is literary. Indeed, the secret of the charm and power of his *Creative Evolution* is the rare fusion and absorption of its scientific and philosophical material by the literary and artistic spirit.

How vividly present Huxley is in everything he writes or speaks, the man shining through his sentences as if the sword were to shine through its scabbard—a different type from Tyndall, more controversial! A lover of combat, he sniffs the battle afar; he is less poetical than Tyndall, less given to rhetoric, but more a part of what he says, and having a more absolutely transparent style. How he charged the foes of Darwin, and cleared the field of them in a hurry. His sentences went through their arguments as steel through lead.

As a sample of fine and eloquent literary statement I have always greatly admired that closing passage in his essay on "Science and Morals" in which he defends physical science against the attacks of Mr. Lilly, who, armed with the weapons of both theology and philosophy, denounced it as the evil genius of modern days. Huxley says:

> If the diseases of society consist in the weakness of its faith in the existence of the God of the theologians, in a future state, and in uncaused volitions, the indication, as the doctors say, is to suppress Theology and Philosophy, whose bickerings about things of which they

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know nothing have been the prime cause and continual sustenance of that evil skepticism which is the Nemesis of meddling with the unknowable.

Cinderella is modestly conscious of her ignorance of these high matters. She lights the fire, sweeps the house, and provides the dinner; and is rewarded by being told that she is a base creature, devoted to low and material interests. But in her garret she has fairy visions out of the ken of the pair of shrews who are quarreling down-stairs. She sees the order which pervades the seeming disorder of the world; the great drama of evolution, with its full share of pity and terror, but also with abundant goodness and beauty, unrolls itself before her eyes; and she learns in her heart of hearts the lesson that the foundation of morality is to have done, once and for all, with lying; to give up pretending to believe that for which there is no evidence, and repeating unintelligible propositions about things beyond the possibilities of knowledge.

She knows that the safety of morality lies neither in the adoption of this or that theological creed, but in a real and living belief in that fixed order of nature which sends social disorganization upon the track of immorality as surely as it sends physical disease after physical trespasses. And of that firm and lively faith it is her high mission to be the priestess.

Herbert Spencer, so far as I have read him, never breathes the air of pure literature. "Life," says Spencer, "is a continuous adjustment of internal relations to external relations." In other words, without air, water, and food our bodies would cease to function and life would end. Spencer's definition is of course true so far as it goes, but it is of no more interest than any other statement of mere fact. It is like opaque and inert matter. Tyndall's free characterization of life as a "wave which in no two consecutive moments of its existence is composed of the same particles" pleases much more, because the wave is a beautiful and suggestive object. The mind is at once started upon the inquiry, What is it that lifts the water up in the form of a wave and travels on, while the water stays behind? It is a force imparted by the wind, but where did the wind get it, and what is the force? The impulse we call life lifts the particles of the inorganic up into the organic, into the myriad forms of life—plant, tree, bird, animal—and, when it has run its course, lets them drop back again into their former inanimate condition.

Although Tyndall and Huxley possessed fine literary equipments, making them masters of the art of eloquent and effective statement, they were nevertheless on their guard against any anthropomorphic tendencies. They were not unaware of the emotion of the beautiful, the sublime, the

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mysterious, but as men of science they could interpret evolution only in terms of matter and energy. Most of their writings are good literature, not because the authors humanize the subject-matter and read themselves into nature's script, but because they are masters of the art of expression, and give us a lively sense of the workings of their own minds.

Spencer was foreordained to the mechanistic view of life. His mind moves in the geometric plane. It is a military and engineering intellect applied to the problems of organic nature. How smoothly and orderly his intellect runs, with what force and precision, turning out its closely woven philosophical fabric as great looms turn out square miles of textiles, without a break or a flaw in the process. Never was a mind of such power so little inspired; never was an imagination of such compass so completely tamed and broken into the service of the reasoning intellect. There is no more aerial perspective in his pages than there is in a modern manufacturing plant, and no hint whatever of "the light that never was on sea or land." We feel the machine-like run of his sentences, each one coming round with the regularity and precision of the revolving arms of a patent harvester, making a clean sweep and a smooth cut; the homogeneous and the heterogeneous, the external and the internal, the inductive and the deductive processes, alternating in a sort of rhythmic beat like the throb of an engine. Spencer had a prodigious mind crammed with a prodigious number of facts, but a more juiceless, soulless system of philosophy has probably never emanated from the human intellect.

The tendency to get out of the sphere of science—the sphere of the verifiable—into the sphere of literature, or of theology, or of philosophy, is pronounced, even in many scientific minds. It is pronounced in Sir Oliver Lodge, as seen in his book on *Science and Immortality*. It is very pronounced in Alfred Russel Wallace; in fact, in his later work his anthropomorphism is rampant. He has cut more fantastic tricks before the high heaven of science than any other man of our time of equal scientific attainments. What a contrast to the sane, patient, and truth-loving mind of Darwin! Yet Darwin, it seems to me, humanized his birds when he endowed the females with human femininity, attributing to them love of ornament and of fine plumage, and making

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this love of ornamentation the basis of his theory of sexual selection. It seems as though in that case he could not find the key to his problem, and so proceeded to make one—a trick to which we are all prone.

Since science dehumanizes nature, its progress as science is in proportion as it triumphs over the anthropomorphic character which our hopes, our fears, our partialities, in short, our innate humanism, has bestowed upon the outward world. Literature, on the other hand, reverses this process, and humanizes everything it looks upon; its products are the fruit of the human personality playing upon the things of life and nature, making everything redolent of human qualities, and speaking to the heart and to the imagination. Science divests nature of all human attributes and speaks to impersonal reason alone. For science to be anthropomorphic is to cease to be science; and for literature to be anything else is to fail as literature. Accordingly, the poet is poet by virtue of his power to make himself the center and focus of the things about him, but the scientific mind is such by virtue of its power to emancipate itself from human and personal consideration and rest with the naked fact. There is no art without the play of personality, and there is no science till we have escaped from personality, and from all forms of the anthropomorphism that doth so easily beset us. It is not that science restricts the imagination; it is that it sterilizes nature, so to speak, reducing it to inorganic or non-human elements. This is why the world, as science sees it, is to so many minds a dead world.

When we find fault with science, and accuse it of leading us to a blank wall of material things, or of deadening our esthetic sensibilities, we are finding fault with it because it looks upon the universe in the light of cold reason, and not through that of the emotions. But our physical well-being demands the de-humanization of the physical world; until we see our true relation to the forces amid which we live and move—our concrete bodily relations—we are like children playing with fire, or with edged tools, or with explosives. Man made no headway against disease, against plague and pestilence, till he outgrew his humanistic views, dissociated these things from evil spirits and offended deities, and looked upon them as within the pale of natural causation. Early man saw and felt and heard spirits on all sides of him—in fire, in water, in air, but he controlled and made use of them

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only so far as he was practically scientific. To catch the wind in his sails he had to put himself in right physical relation to it. If he stayed the ravages of flood or fire, he was compelled to cease to propitiate these powers as offended deities, and fight them with non-human forces, as he does to-day. And the man of to-day may have any number of superstitions about his relations to the things around him, and about theirs to him, but he is successful in dealing with them only when he forgets his superstitions and approaches things on rational grounds.

Our fathers who held that every event of their lives was fixed and unalterable, according to the decrees of an omnipotent being, could not have survived had their daily conduct been in harmony with their beliefs. But when ill, they sent for the doctor; if the house got afire, they tried to put the fire out; if crops failed, they improved their husbandry. They slowly learned that better sanitation lessened the death-rate; that temperate habits prolonged life; that signs and wonders in the heavens and in the earth had no human significance; that wars abated as men grew more just and reasonable. We come to grief the moment that we forget that nature is neither for nor against us. We can master her forces only when we see them as they are in and of themselves, and realize that they make no exception in our behalf.

The superstitious ages, the ages of religious wars and persecutions, the ages of famine and pestilence, were the ages when man's humanization of nature was at its height; and they were the ages of the great literature and art, because, as we have seen, these things thrive best in such an atmosphere. Take the gods and devils, the good and bad spirits, fate, and foreknowledge, and the whole supernatural hierarchy out of the literature and art of the past, and what have we left? Take it out of Homer and Æschylus and Vergil and Dante and Milton, and we come pretty near to making ashes of them. In modern literature, or the literature of a scientific age, these things play an insignificant part. Take them out of Shakespeare, and the main things are left; take them out of Tennyson, and the best remains; take them out of Whitman, and the effect is hardly appreciable. Whitman's anthropomorphism is very active. The whole universe is directed to Whitman, to you, to me; but Whitman makes little or no use of the old stock material of the poets. He seeks to draw into himself and to assimilate

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and imbue with the human spirit the entire huge materialism of the modern democratic world. He gives the first honors to science, but its facts, he says, are not his dwelling,

> I but enter by them to an area of my dwelling.

Being a poet, he must live in the world of the emotions, the intuitions, the imagination—the world of love, fellowship, beauty, religion—the super-scientific world. As practical beings with need of food, shelter, transportation, we have to deal with the facts within the sphere of physical science; as social, moral, and esthetic beings, we live in the super-scientific world. Our house of life has upper stories that look off to the sky and the stars. We are less as men than our fathers, have less power of character, but are more as tools and vehicles of the scientific intellect.

Man lives in his emotions, his hopes and fears, his loves and sympathies, his predilections, and his affinities, more than in his reason. Hence, as we have more and more science, we must have less and less great literature; less and less religion; less and less war; less and less racial and political antagonisms; more and more freedom and fellowship in all fields and with all peoples. Science tends to unify the nations and make one family of them.

The antique world produced great literature and great art, but much of its science was childish. We produce great science, but much of our literature and art is feeble and imitative.

Science, as such, neither fears nor dreads nor wonders nor trembles nor scoffs nor scorns; is not puffed up; thinketh no evil; has no prejudices; turns aside for nothing. Though all our gods totter and fall, it must go its way. It dispels our illusions because it clears our vision. It kills superstition because it banishes our irrational fears.

Mathematical and scientific truths are fixed and stable quantities; they are like the inorganic compounds; but the truths of literature, of art, of religion, of philosophy, are in perpetual flux and transformation, like the same compounds in the stream of life.

How much of the power and the charm of the poetic treatment of nature lies in the fact that the poet reads himself into the objects he portrays, and thus makes everything alive and full of human interest. He sees

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> The jocund day
> Stand tiptoe on the misty mountain top;

he sees the highest peak of the mountain range to be

> The last to parley with the setting sun;

he sees

> The white arms out in the breakers tirelessly tossing;

while the power and the value of science is to free itself from these tendencies and see things in the white light of reason. Science is the enemy of our myth-making tendency, but it is the friend of our physical well-being.

Every material thing and process has its physics, which, in most cases, seem utterly inadequate to account for the thing as it stands to us. Life is a flower, and the analysis of it does not tell us why we are so moved by it. The moral, the esthetic, the spiritual values which we find in life and in nature, are utterly beyond the range of physical science, and I suppose it is because the physico-chemical explanation of the phenomenon of life takes no account, and can take no account, of these, that it leaves us cold and uninterested. Spencer, with his irrefragable mechanistic theories, leaves us indifferent, while Bergson, with his creative evolution, sets mind and spirit all aglow. One interprets organic nature in terms of matter and motion, the other interprets it in terms of life and spirit.

Science is the critic and doctor of life, but never its inspirer. It enlarges the field of literature, but its aims are unliterary. The scientific evolution of the great problems—life, mind, consciousness—seem strangely inadequate; they are like the scientific definition of light as vibrations or electric oscillations in the ether of space, which would not give a blind man much idea of light. The scientific method is supreme in its own sphere, but that sphere is not commensurate with the whole of human life. Life flowers in the subjective world of our sentiments, emotions, and aspirations, and to this world literature, art, and religion alone have the key.

JOHN BURROUGHS.

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THE "PENSEUR"

ON SEEING THE FAMOUS STATUE

BY FLORENCE EARLE COATES

Rodin's it was—this vital thing, this Soul,
  This striking force imprisonèd in clay,
This monster Shape inert, held in control
    By that it doth enshrine:
  Rodin's it was; but, ah, to-day
    It is the world's—and mine!

What mystery here is meant?
Is this Time's great event—
This creature earthward sent
  With subtle might against himself to strive—
    To struggle upward from the brutish thing
    And, ruling the blood's rioting,
  Keep the celestial spark in him alive?

What miracle is meant,
Suggested by this frame relaxed and bent?
What wonders to this Titan are revealed,
Sitting enisled and motionless as if
Lone on some cloud-invested Teneriffe? . . .
Inward and inward still his vision sinks.
What does he here?— He thinks!

Thought is the travail that absorbs him thus;
Himself the workshop, most mysterious,
Wherein are wrought what human strengths there be.
  Detached, aloof, with eyes that seem to stare
    Beyond us and beyond apparent things,

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He gazes far into futurity,
And doth with gods unbourned horizons share.
For thoughts are borne on never-tiring wings,
And bold adventure regions foul and fair;
To Hades sink, then rise to Heaven again,
Still finding everywhere
The mystic threads whereof are joy and pain
Shaped in the penetralia of the brain!

FLORENCE EARLE COATES.

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THE SEA IN THE GREEK POETS[1]

BY WILLIAM CHASE GREENE

The whole world's life is a chant to the sea-tide's chorus.—*Swinburne.*

In no age have we looked upon the sea with indifference. More than the rocks and the trees, more even than the mountains, it has forced itself upon our imaginations as something peculiarly a part of our life. We have lavished all our skill in describing it, we have cursed it as a hostile monster, we have prayed to it as a god, we have felt it to be a symbol of our inner life; but whatever our passions may have been, they have always told us that the sea is a presence not to be ignored.

We, of a later generation, are at a double disadvantage when we try to discover the attitude of an ancient race toward the sea. We find it very difficult, of course, not to read into all the ancient literature the ideas and fancies of later epochs. Moreover, we find not only that there is no one conception or attitude in the whole body of literature, but that hardly any single writer thinks of the sea in unchanging terms. It shall be my task, therefore, to consider the views held by some of the Greek poets, and to trace in outline their growth from poet to poet. The subject has at least this advantage, that the individual poets were at liberty, much more than the sculptors and the painters, to give free rein to their own fancies, to create new worlds of images in the likeness of new visions they had seen. To them the beliefs of their fellows were a background against which they might set their figures.

The Greeks began early to think about the sea. Long before the Homeric poems took literary form, the great

[1] This essay won the Charles Oldham Prize at Oxford, June, 1913. The quotations are given partly in the translations of well-known scholars, partly in versions made by the writer.

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spectacle of its shape and color, its drama of sound and motion, must have found expression in speech. In its simplest form, this means the Homeric epithet, which voices in a large descriptive way the physical nature of its object. The sea is "wide," "deep," "boundless," "purple," or "wine-dark"; it is "loud-sounding" and "much-dashing," "hoary" or "misty." This "salt thing" is "unvintaged," if that be the meaning of ἀτρύγητος; as the highway of ships, it is named the "waterways."

Such description comes from impressions that have not been turned over in any individual mind. To any pair of eyes the sea is large, to any ears its breakers are surging, to any tongue they are salt. Quite easily the descriptive terms became stereotyped in conventional phrases which recurred naturally to the lips of everybody, when once they had been used. Especially must this have been the case in the Homeric poems, because of their traditional character. When a poet begins to sing, however, his imagination immediately dictates what his eye shall see. And the Homeric poems give us accurate and vivid description. Let us turn to the embarking of Telemachus:

> Then came Telemachus aboard; but Athene led the way, and at the vessel's stern she sat her down, while close at hand Telemachus was seated. The others loosed the cables, and coming aboard themselves took places at the pins. A favorable wind clear-eyed Athene sent, a brisk west wind that sang along the wine-dark sea. And now Telemachus, inspiriting his men, bade them lay hold upon the tackling, and they hearkened to his call. Raising the pine-wood mast, they set it in the hollow socket, binding it firm with forestays, and tightened the white sail with twisted ox-hide thongs. The wind swelled out the belly of the sail, and round the stem loudly the rippling water roared as the ship started. Onward she sped, forcing a passage through the waves. Making the tackling fast throughout the swift black ship, the men brought bowls brimming with wine, and to the gods that never die and never have been born they poured it forth—chiefest of all to her, the clear-eyed child of Zeus. So through the night and early dawn did the ship cleave her way. (Prof. Palmer's translation.)

Again, the description of the shipwreck of Odysseus abounds in picturesque detail; waves and wind and spray, rocky ledge and shore-rushes, all are skilfully suggested.

But in the Homeric poems by far the greater number of passages of this kind must be sought under the guise of similes, often elaborately set forth. When the detail is added at unnecessary length, so far as pure com-

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parison is concerned, the very fullness of the rehearsal betrays the *naïf* interest of the poet in the theme itself. Thus "the assembly was swayed like the long sea-waves of the Icarian Main that the East wind and the South wind raise, rushing upon them from the clouds of father Zeus." Hermes "dropped down on the deep and skimmed along the water like a bird, a gull, which down the fearful hollows of the barren sea, snatching at fish, dips its thick plumage in the spray." And there is observation of the keenest sort in another passage: "Even as there spreadeth across the main the ripple of the West wind newly risen, and the sea grows black beneath it, so sate the ranks of the Achæans and Trojans upon the plain." The same figure is repeated when Hector "fell upon the fight like a roaring blast that leaps down and stirs the violet-colored deep." Sometimes the sketch is turned into a moving vignette:

> As when on the echoing beach the sea-wave lifteth up itself in close array before the driving of the West wind—out on the deep doth it first rear its helmed head, then break on the land, and bellow aloud, and go with arching crest about the head-lands, and spew the foaming brine afar,—even so in close array moved the battalions of the Danaäns without pause to battle.

A particularly vivid touch is lent to the boxing-match between Euryalus and Epeius by another happy simile. "As when beneath the North wind's ripple a fish leapeth on a tangle-covered beach, and then the black wave hideth it, so leapt up Euryalus at that blow."

To even a casual reader of these epithets and similes it must appear that we are passing beyond mere delineation of physical facts. It is only a step from simile to metaphor, from metaphor to personification; and figurative language comes early in the lives of children and of nations. Anything so active as the sea, too, lends itself with especial ease to figurative expression. Frequent are the references to the "broad back of the sea," and to an island as the "navel of the sea." In the more conscious art of Æschylus, too, we find phrases suggestive of such ideas. Xerxes, in the "Persians," throws his bridge of ships like a yoke on the neck of the sea, and the waveless sea is several times conceived of as having fallen asleep. A wonderfully vivid effect is gained by Æschylus when he says that the sea after a storm "blossomed with wrecks of ships and bodies of sailors." Parallels to this idea may of course be found

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in Euripides, where the sea "blossoms with blood," and in Lucretius, where it "blossoms with sails."

The genius of language can go far to shape the beliefs of a people. Yet it is doubtful whether the personification of the forces of nature by the poets could ever of itself have brought about their deification. Greek myths cannot be explained simply as the allegorical account of physical phenomena, nor mythical figures as the personification of the powers of nature. Many deities certainly had their origin in the natural elements, conceived as sentient beings, and requiring placation by fetish rites. Yet there are many other cases where gods must have been borrowed from foreign nations, or in which a myth was invented to explain a rite whose origin had been forgotten. In such cases we must not hope to find a close relation between the force of nature and the deity that seems at first to preside over it.

Both kinds of deification had been applied to the sea before the Homeric poems were written, and both kinds are represented within their pages. Side by side the conceptions grew, and side by side they stand in the poems. Inklings of a vague divinity are in the epithet ἅλς δῖα, no less than in the more individualized forms of the primitive sculptor. And Herodotus tells us, in a passage full of significance, his own conception of the theogony:

> As to the origin of each individual god, whether all of them existed from the beginning, what were their peculiar forms, the knowledge of these matters is, so to speak, only of to-day and yesterday. For Hesiod and Homer are my seniors, I believe, by perhaps four hundred years,—not more. They it is who have composed for the Greeks the generations of the gods, and have given to the gods their titles and distinguished their several provinces and powers, and marked their forms.

Exaggerated as this view may be, it is at least a half-truth; at any rate, the divinities of the sea are already individualized in the Homeric poems, and never lost the more prominent traits of character that we find there. Vague and popular animism has given place to personality; the phenomena of storm and calm have become but the manifestations of an angry or of a beneficent god. Homer and Hesiod have drawn together the scattered and conflicting beliefs into a fairly consistent dogma; they have done their best to nationalize the theogony.

As we might expect, the tendency is for all the gods to become more and more independent of natural provinces, as

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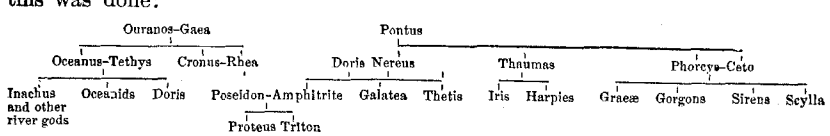
they win new personal traits. And in general the gods are noblest the nearer they are to their functions as nature-gods; they doff their sublimity as they approach humanity. Two stages in the development of the sea-gods are chronicled in the early Greek poets. Two sea-dynasties reign without conflicting with each other. The earlier, that of Oceanus, is hardly more than the animate power of the all-encircling Ocean-stream; the later, Poseidon and his train, is far more detached. Yet attempts were made to reconcile the dynasties by means of genealogy.[1]

In Oceanus was expressed the immensity of the sea, as the great stream that embraced every known land. Whether the Greeks sent their ships to the Euxine, or past the Pillars of Heracles to the Atlantic, beyond them always lay "that untravel'd world whose margin fades for ever and for ever." Nor could anything be more natural than that round a level world a stream should flow; a shield of Achilles must have its rim. In due season, ocean became Oceanus: "the world is full of gods," said Thales, and Oceanus took his place among the other gods. He is a figure of remote grandeur, living in his palace far to the west, seldom mingling in the affairs of the other gods or of men. He is subject to Zeus, but does not attend the councils of the gods of Olympus. In his stream the stars bathe, and the dawn rises from his depths. By his sister-Titan Tethys, he is the father of three thousand rivers and of countless ocean nymphs. In the "Prometheus Bound" he is more distinctly a person than anywhere else; indeed, we should almost forget his connection with the sea, were it not for his entrance in a chariot drawn by a gryphon. It is interesting to note that Shelley, in the "Prometheus Unbound," though he makes Ocean act as a personality, never allows him to become divorced from his function as the incarnation of the sea.

More prominent than Oceanus is Poseidon, who represents more nearly the power of the sea. Throughout Greek literature and art, it is the physical aspect of him

[1] The following table, adapted from Gayley's *Classic Myths*, will show how this was done:



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that is most characteristic, nor does he ever rise to any great spiritual significance. He, too, like Oceanus, is the "engirdler of the earth," but is also the "earth-shaker" and the "gatherer of clouds"; he is reputed to have split the rocks of Tempe. His voice is heard in the surf; his anger is felt in the storm. He belongs to the Olympic dynasty, and as ruler of the sea is the peer of his brother Zeus, while his marriage with Amphitrite, daughter of the Oceanid Doris, reconciles him with the older dynasty. In the "Odyssey," he is the main celestial machinery for the action of the poem; for he "steadily strove with godlike Odysseus till he reached his land." His palace was in the depths of the sea, but he used to drive in his chariot over the floods, the waves standing asunder before him. The trident, his symbol of authority, was probably evolved from a fish-spear; and other attributes, like the dolphins of his train, may be traced to natural origins. It is not certain why the horse came to be associated with Poseidon. Perhaps the best explanation is the resemblance of foam-crested waves on a windy day to the flying manes of horses. Obscure as many parts of his cult may appear, the personality of Poseidon is simpler than that of most of the gods; indeed, we find in Hellenistic art new attempts to revive his passionate character and his immediate connection with the sea, even at the expense of his dignity as a god.

Other divinities of the sea are numerous. Sometimes a sea-monster was simply deified, or some fleeting aspect of the sea was endowed with a more lasting form. Son of Pontus (the high sea) was the fish-god Nereus, a genial old man who represents the beneficence of the sea. His fifty daughters embody the various phases of the ocean, with all its changes of form and color. Thus Galene is the Nereid of calm weather, who danced with her sisters in the depths of the sea. The changeableness of the sea had another representative in Proteus, the Old Man of the Sea, whose power of changing from one intangible form to another cost Menelaus so much trouble. The manner in which the phenomenon of nature became a person is admirably shown in the passage where he "comes forth from the water at a puff of the West wind, veiled in the dark ripple." The terrible aspect of the sea finds its divinity in Phorcys; its wonder and majesty in Thaumas.

Such, then, are the steps by which the Greeks placed the

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sea in their theology. It was not an orderly progress, well defined from step to step. In the Homeric poems, where the epithet stage still lingers, many other conceptions are to be found; nor do we lack intimations of ideas that later generations carried further. As early as the Homeric age, the Greeks learned to express their emotions toward the sea. Dread and fascination strove for mastery in their minds; and at first dread seemed to prevail. The sea was a great and hostile power that separated the nations from one another, and lay in wait for the sailors that had the hardihood to tempt it. So in Homer we find:

> Hector shining with fire on all sides leaped on the throng, and fell upon them, as when beneath the storm-clouds a fleet wave reared of the winds falls on a swift ship, and she is all hidden with foam, and the dread blast of the wind roars against the sail, and the sailors fear and tremble in their hearts, for by but a little way are they borne forth from death; even so the spirit was torn in the breast of the Achæans.

Menelaus tells of a "sea from which birds travel not within a year, so vast is it, and fearful"; and Menelaus was not alone in finding the sea δεινός. Even Hermes, the great traveler among the gods, asks, "Who of his own accord would cross such stretches of interminable salt sea?" And when Calypso bids Odysseus to build a raft, he is distressed at the thought of "that great gulf of sea, terrible, toilsome, which trim ships cannot cross, although they speed so fast, glad in the breeze of Zeus." In fact, the sea became almost a type of all that is hard and unfeeling; so that Patroclus cries to Achilles, "Pitiless that thou art, the knight Peleus was not thy father, nor Thetis thy mother, but the gray sea bore thee, and the sheer cliffs, so untoward is thy spirit." The sight of Odysseus to Penelope is as welcome as the sight of land to the shipwrecked mariner. The very name of the Euxine Sea is euphemistic for what Æschylus calls the "stepmother of ships."

This attitude of fear naturally kept the Greeks from becoming very reckless sailors. "Nothing is worse than sea-life for weakening a man, however strong he be," say even the Phæacians. The Greeks were averse to sailing in winter, and Hesiod advises that ships be drawn up on the shore at the setting of the Pleiades. Man shows his superiority over the beasts by sailing the sea, says Sophocles: but putting to sea in a storm is tempting the gods. Later poets

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elaborated this idea into a dogma, maintaining that the sea is a divinely appointed barrier between nations. Horace was not the only Roman poet who considered the first sailor to have been armed with "*aes triplex.*"

Some modern critics have found fault with Tennyson's "Ulysses," on the ground that the Greeks never sailed at night. It is true that they were averse to such voyages; yet the Homeric heroes were sometimes compelled to make them. Telemachus sails for Pylos in the night in order to escape the notice of the suitors; Odysseus several times steered by the stars, and the Phæacians brought him home by night, so that his arrival should not be known. Still, it must be remembered that these characters were under the especial care of the gods; and the Ulysses of Tennyson had no reasons but those of the poet for setting sail at dusk.

Everybody remembers the touching passage in the "Odyssey" where Odysseus is confronted among the shades by his companion Elpenor, who has just died. Odysseus asks Elpenor: "How came you in this murky gloom? Faster you came on foot than I in my black ship." Elpenor tells Odysseus of his death, and begs his lord to "erect on the shore of the foaming sea the mound of an unhappy man, that future times may know. Do this for me, and fix upon my grave the oar with which in life I rowed among my comrades." The custom of honoring shipwrecked mariners in this way gave rise to many very pathetic epitaphs as well as to other poems in the same spirit. Thus we may read the poem of Archias:

> Not even in death shall I, Theris, tossed shipwrecked upon land by the waves, forget the sleepless shores; for beneath the spray-beaten reefs, nigh the disastrous main, I found a grave at the hands of strangers, and forever do I wretchedly hear roaring even among the dead the hated thunder of the sea. (Translation of John William Mackail.)

An interesting parallel with this attitude is that of the Hebrews. The "Great Sea" was regarded by them with a feeling of fear, almost of abhorrence. Their harbors, unlike those of Greece, were few and poor. For them the sea was the abode of huge monsters, particularly of the evil power of "Rahab," or "Leviathan," or the "Serpent." This explains such passages as the apocalyptic description of St. John, in which the beast rises from the sea; and of

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his ideal conception of the new heaven, where "there shall be no more sea."

Yet almost as strong as the Greeks' fear of the sea, and not altogether unmixed with it, are traces of a more rational feeling. They could not but recognize that however dangerous it was in its stormier hours, it was also a friendly power. Especially in the post-Homeric period it was looked upon as a great highway; but even before the Homeric age, the Ionians of Asia Minor had begun to explore the Mediterranean, and they were born sailors. Of course their proximity to the Phœnicians, the great sailors of antiquity, acted as a stimulus to them; but that they did not learn so much from them as some writers have supposed is shown by the fact that none of the Greek nautical terms come from the language of the Phœnicians. Yet it is likely, as many think, that the Homeric poet had them in mind in his descriptions of the "oar-loving Taphians," and signally of the Phæacians. "For the Phæacians do not care for bow and quiver; only for masts and oars of ships, and the trim ships themselves, with which it is their joy to cross the foaming sea." So, as civilization advanced, the sea came more and more to be considered a path from country to country, no longer a barrier. Only in this way can we understand with what ecstasy, after long suffering and weariness far inland, the army of the Ten Thousand could cry, when it reached the mountain height from which it could behold the outspread Euxine, "The Sea! the Sea!" So, too, in the "Ajax" of Sophocles, the chorus of sailors, far from home, sings, "Would I were there, where the rock, thick-wooded and washed by the waves, hangs over the face of the deep, under Sunium's broad-jutting peak, that there we might hail, once again, Athens, the holy, the blest."

Ever since the days when the Ionian cities of Asia Minor had begun to send colonies to the Euxine and to Magna Græcia, the political importance of the sea had become large. Though the Greeks never became a thoroughly commercial people, like the Phœnicians, they realized their debt to the sea in something the spirit of the medieval doges of Venice, who were betrothed to the sea. Indeed, shipping was even in the time of Homer so extensive that it became a profitable source of booty for pirates. Aristophanes ridicules in the "Birds" the importance to which the navy has risen; the Hoopoe does not wish his city to be so near

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the sea that he may be disturbed any fine morning by the "Salaminia," the official galley. Even Plato had a strong aversion to founding his "second-best city" on the sea, since it was a "brackish neighbor, filling the streets with merchants and shopkeepers, and begetting in the souls of men uncertain and unfaithful ways."

No people that sees its ships sail away to strange lands can fail to speculate about the goal of the voyage; and this is particularly true of the Greeks. They were in the habit of fashioning legends about their sailors. Jason embarked on a venture to win the mysterious golden fleece, far to the east; other adventurers sought for distant Islands of the Blessed in the domain of the sunset. Down to the times of Lucian, whose "True History" has been the model or the inspiration of countless tales of adventure, there was among the Greeks a very lively interest in foreign countries. Indeed, it is hard to explain the Io episode in the "Prometheus Bound" by any other motive than a desire to satisfy the geographical curiosity of a naturally curious race.

Schiller was half right when he wrote:

> They (the Greeks) do not attach themselves to nature with that depth of feeling, with that gentle melancholy, that characterizes the moderns. . . . Their impatient imagination only traverses nature to pass beyond it to the drama of human life. . . . It takes pleasure only in the spectacle of what is living and free.

This is very largely true of Homer; but, as Professor Butcher points out, it is a hasty generalization, and is not altogether true of the rest of Greek literature. The Greeks did not always hear, with Wordsworth, in the sea, "the still, sad music of humanity"; they did not often fall into the meshes of what Ruskin has made famous by the term "pathetic fallacy"; they did not, like some of our Romanticists, make of nature an enthusiastic cult: yet they were not unaffected by the human voice of the sea. Many are the accounts of men who walked or sat by the sea when they were troubled at heart. Thus Achilles, when mourning for Patroclus, "would roam wildly beside the beach of the salt sea." Odysseus, when he was the captive of Calypso, used to sit on the rocks and gaze at the sea, weeping. And when the Phæacians had brought him home to Ithaca, before he knew where he was, he "sadly paced the shore of the resounding sea." The sailors pity Philoctetes, "hearing in his loneliness the dashing of breakers on

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the shore." The brooding Daphnis of Theocritus sings "looking out upon Sicilian waters," and Polyphemus, in love with Galatea, "sat by the seaweed of the beach from the dawn of day," or "on the crest of a tall cliff, looking out upon the deep sea."

For a mind whose imagination is heightened by suffering, it is easy to find in the commotion of the sea a counterpart of its own pain. In its simplest form, the relation becomes a simile. So in Homer:

> As when the great sea is troubled with a dumb wave, and dimly bodes the sudden paths of the shrill winds, but is still unmoved, nor yet rolled forward or to either side, until some steady gale comes down from Zeus,—even so the old man pondered.

And the wrath of the gods against a house is compared by Sophocles to a storm on the Thracian coast. None of these examples, if they were found in a modern author, would be considered very subtle; the significant point is that the comparison is not, as in the other similes that I have quoted, of a merely physical nature; there is an ethical idea besides.

Such ideas are often more prominent. Just as "the blast of the most dread winds will lull to rest the groaning ocean," writes Sophocles, all troubles must have an end. Danae, in a fragment of Simonides, sings to her baby, "Sleep, I bid thee, my child; and sleep, thou sea; and sleep, my immeasurable woe." In contrast to this, in Theocritus the girl Simaetha cries, "so silent is the sea, and silent are the winds; but the torment in my breast is never silent." Then, in the same way that the physical powers of nature were personified, the moral side is endowed with feeling, and is sometimes an actual personality. So in Theognis, "the primeval earth smiled, and the deep flood of the sea was glad." In Æschylus there are varying emotions. Though we have "the myriad laughter of the ocean waves," the sea elsewhere "cries out as it falls, and the depths make moan." A late poem in the *Anthology* speaks of the "gladness" of the sea. All of these passages readily suggest such verses in the Bible as, "Let the floods clap their hands; let the hills be joyful together."

In "Dover Beach," Matthew Arnold describes the moonlit sea:

> Listen! you hear the grating roar
> Of pebbles which the waves draw back, and fling

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> At their return, up the high strand,
> Begin, and cease, and then again begin,
> With tremulous cadence slow, and bring
> The eternal note of sadness in.
> Sophocles long ago
> Heard it on the Ægean, and it brought
> Into his mind the turbid ebb and flow
> Of human misery. . . .

Though it is safe to say that there is more Arnold than Sophocles in these lines, nevertheless it is true that Sophocles, as well as other poets of his period, thought easily in terms of the sea. Hard as it is to trace the scattered and confused cases in which these ideas occur, the effect of the feeling upon the poetic language of the Greeks is well marked. In Homer, the figures are easily visualized. The dead suitors are likened to the fish that a fisherman has caught. So, too, in Æschylus, the slaughter of an army is compared to tunny-fishing, and Clytaemnestra boasts of the murder of Agamemnon that she "cast around him a drag-net as for fish." But in Æschylus figurative language is more and more transported to the realm of moral ideas. Perhaps the commonest metaphor in Greek poetry is that of a "sea of ills" with its many variants. Sometimes the conception is a little more defined. Aegeus seems to Medea a haven in storm, we read in Euripides; and so Peleus seems to Andromache. The figure of the ship of state, familiar through Theognis, Alcaeus, and Horace, has countless variations, such as the comparison of a prosperous but overweening man with a ship carrying too much sail, or too heavily freighted. It was for this that Polycrates threw his ring into the sea in vain, as Herodotus tells us.

By the time of Sophocles, these figures had in a large measure become stereotyped as rhetorical conventions. When he wrote that a city was "tempest-tossed," very little of the original metaphorical force was left. The ideas had passed into the currency of common speech; they were like counters, or coinage, equivalent to certain fairly distinct ideas. Œdipus was "pilot of the ship" in much the same artificial sense in which Macbeth speaks of King Duncan as "the spring, the head, the fountain" of his sons' blood. A "whirling surge of chariots," though it may conceivably retain the original figure, is probably a mere convention. So we may explain away the mixed metaphor in Hamlet's soliloquy, by saying that Shakespeare no longer retained

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the original force of the figure in his "sea of troubles." In Euripides these tropes are sometimes of a perfunctory nature, sometimes they are thought out with more care. So, we find, it is best with an angry people to slacken sheet and let the storm spend itself.

We noticed in Homer that the epithet "sacred" or "divine" was applied to the sea. The early philosophers, too, dwellers beside the great presence of the sea, gave it a supernatural place in their systems. Thales based everything on water; Xenophanes declared, "We all spring from earth and water"; Heracleitus supposed water to be a manifestation of fire; and Empedocles made it one of his four elements. In the same way the sea was regarded as peculiarly the portion of the gods. An interesting light is thrown on this peculiar and sometimes almost superstitious belief by Greek notions of the lustral character of water. In order to understand them fully we should have to go far into folklore; yet it seems clear that their origin is to be sought, as one would expect, in the simple cleansing effect of water, gradually idealized. When Œdipus bathed before his strange disappearance, a spiritual purification was supposed to accompany his bodily ablutions. Such is the origin of Jewish rites of purification by washing, and of the baptism of the Christian Church.[1] Telemachus washed his hands before prayer, in accordance with the belief that clean hands and a pure heart go together. And so Hecuba wished to wash Polyxena in sea-water before her death. Aristophanes, in burlesque, makes Æschylus parody Euripides by having a dream washed away with water. In Apollonius Rhodius, Circe washed her hair and garments in the sea.

Even more than the water of a spring, the sea was felt by its very vastness to have a lustral power. There are a number of examples of this belief, cast in such a form as to bear a striking resemblance to the famous passage in "Macbeth." Says the unknown writer of an epigram preserved in a manuscript in the Laurentian Library, "For the holy, a sprinkling of water sufficeth; but a wicked man the whole

[1] From representations in art, as well as from passages in the poets, it appears that the mythological birth of Aphrodite from the sea has a close connection with her ritual bath; she renewed her virginity from time to time in this bath (as did also Athene and Hera). Perhaps we may find a parallel to this in St. Paul's analogy between baptism and a death and "newness of life." (Rom. vi., 3, 4.)

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ocean cannot wash in its floods." In Sophocles we read, "Nay, not all the stream of Istros or of Phasis I deem could wash this house clean." And, as if in echo, Shakespeare speaks:

> Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood
> Clean from my hand? No; this my hand will rather
> The multitudinous seas incarnadine,
> Making the green one red.

Nor has Keats forgotten

> The moving waters at their priest-like task
> Of pure ablution round earth's human shores.

From such passages it is striking to turn and read in Euripides what I believe to be the most modern line in all Greek literature—a line spoken, to be sure, with *double entente,* yet designed to be understood by the hearer in its larger sense. Thoas, the barbarian king, asks Iphigeneia why she wishes to wash the supposedly polluted statue of the goddess in the sea. She replies in a line that might have been written by Swinburne, "The sea doth wash away all ills of men."

As in the preceding poets we found no one conception of the sea supplanting all others, in Euripides this fact is even more noticeable. He was not writing in an age that was just opening its eyes to a new and wonderful world; the Greek genius, when once it had budded, was soon in flower, and Euripides found himself heir to a great legacy of traditional ideas. So we find "a sea of trouble" recurring many times, more as a stock expression than as a spontaneous metaphor. Yet he weighed his expressions with care; for as his faith in the gods of his fathers was an effort, not a natural impulse, so his figures were the tools of an artist, not the carelessly picturesque expressions of the actual observer. Nevertheless, there is in many of his plays a sustained atmosphere of the sea. With a felicitous touch of humanity, he makes the chorus of Argive maidens, in the "Taurian Iphigeneia," exiled far from home, picture their joyous voyage home, Pan piping the stroke and cheering the rowers, Phoebus singing to the lyre, while the oar-blades splashed, and the swelling sail stretched the halliards taut, as the ship swept along.

It is customary to exaggerate the amount of the so-called "modern spirit" that is found in the *Anthology.* Here the

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various sea-gods are frequently petitioned for happy voyages, just as in earlier poets, but it is largely as a matter of convention. It is noticeable that the lesser sea-divinities take the place, to a considerable extent, of the earlier and more powerful gods. Thus Priapus and other minor gods are several times thanked for calm weather. Indeed, the heroic and creative age of Greece was gone, and it remained for the Alexandrians to express in faultless verse the modest emotions of their own age. In most cases they worked on a small scale; their pictures were miniatures, their poetic descriptions were verse cameos. Oftenest such bits of nature are used solely for the background of the human drama, and are introduced for their picturesque and atmospheric possibilities.

The most direct relation of the sea to the Greeks of the *Anthology* is expressed by the epitaphs of shipwrecked sailors, sometimes placed over their graves on the shore, sometimes on cenotaphs, and frequently written merely as literary exercises. Most of these epitaphs, however, bemoan the harshness of the sea. "Sailor," reads one, "ask not whose tomb I am, but be thine own fortune a kinder sea." On the other hand, the feeling of love for the sea, which I have already discussed, is brought out in an epitaph, attributed to Plato, on the Eretrian exiles who died far inland in Persia; they cry "farewell, dear sea."

The picturesque side of the sea is reflected in several short descriptions of spring on the coast, treated more from the point of view of Hesiod than with spontaneous lyric enthusiasm. Rarely, a fanciful poet will attribute emotions to the sea, or make it the type of his own experiences, or by an act of imagination lose himself in the sea. So, in a late period, Paulus Silentiarius saw by the convention of an epigrammatic writer the image of his beloved in the sea.

Theocritus treats the sea differently. His descriptions are not those of a self-conscious artist, artistic though they be. They come at first hand from one who has lived in the open air, among a sea-going people. The rugged, gray-haired fishermen that he introduces into his idyls are of flesh and blood; he has been in their wattled cabins, reclined on their beds of sea-moss, and handled their fishing-rods and seines and oars. He has heard them tell their stories and dreams, and has heard from their lips such popular beliefs as that a stone falling into the sea is a good omen.

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"They had no neighbor by them, but ever against their narrow cabin gently floated up the sea." And that is why Theocritus was able to give such life-like pictures of the sea and its followers—why his Twenty-first Idyl, like Wordsworth's "Michael," is more truly pastoral than anything that Vergil, or Mantuan, or Sannazaro, or Spenser could ever write. He had gazed long days at the blue Sicilian sea with its foam-crested waves,—

> those graceful, fan-like jets of silver upon the rocks, which softly rise aloft like water-spirits from the deep, then shiver, and break, and spread, and shroud themselves, and disappear, in a soft mist of foam.[1]

He knew it, too, in its tempest days:

> The winds raise huge billows about the stern, yea, or from the prow, or even as each wind wills, and cast them into the hold of the ship, and shatter both bulwarks, while with the sail hangs all the gear confused and broken, and the storm-rain falls from heaven as night creeps on, and the wide sea rings, being lashed by the gusts, and by showers of iron hail.

Yet it is not only as a spectacle that he saw the sea. He still retained the old mythology, much as Homer had built it, with the same ocean stream and the same gods. But this he did with freshness of touch. His similes, not plentiful, are more sincere than startling. Of this kind is the comparison between the ruinous effects of love and a storm at sea. His figure in which Atalanta leaps into "deep waters of desire" may well be compared with the idea of Heine's "Lorelei" and of Goethe's "Fischer."

One might prolong this study far into the centuries that followed; yet among the minor poets of the decline, few gave voice to any new conceptions of the sea. The gamut of their emotions had already been sounded, and they did little more than try new variations on familiar themes. Down to Lucian, whose dialogues burlesque the absurdities of anthropomorphism, and whose "True History" parodies with Attic salt the romantic and adventure-seeking tendencies of the day, we find the artless fancy of the sea-lover side by side with the conscious images of the moralist.

If we look in Greek poetry for any one attitude toward the sea, we must be disappointed; there were many conceptions, and few attempts were ever made to distinguish them. But were we to seek for any one conclusion, it would have to be that the Greeks, though often deeply moved by the sea,

[1] Newman, "Historical Sketches."

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and highly imaginative in their conceptions of its nature, regarded it in general as an external object. For them, man remained the measure of all things; when they animated the sea, it was by anthropomorphism; when they idealized it, the process was in terms of humanity. Though the chorus of the world's life may be in the sea-tide, the chant itself, they believed, is sung by mankind. In this sense, then, we must look at their life, a life spent on the margin of the sea, always mindful of its presence, yet never surrendered to it. So far as the sea was real, it gained its reality by entering into man's life. If it made life terrible, or joyful, or wonderful, the sea was given a place in their world as a thing of terror, or of joy, or of wonder.

But "the blue waves, unconquerable and restless," have lasted while the thoughts of man have ebbed and flowed, and we have sometimes gone to the sea for a touchstone in a too uncertain world. So later ages have loved the poetry that is so full of the ocean's life. It is striking to read that Walt Whitman used to shout Pope's Homer to the waves of the New Jersey coast. And it has been granted to few poets of our age to surpass the poignancy of Mr. Lang's fine sonnet, with its magnificent closing cadence:

> So gladly, from the songs of modern speech
> Men turn, and see the stars, and feel the free
> Shrill wind beyond the close of heavy flowers,
> And through the music of the languid hours,
> They hear like Ocean on a western beach
> The surge and thunder of the Odyssey.

WILLIAM CHASE GREENE.

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A GENTLEMAN

BY ARTHUR C. BENSON

"How do you define a gentleman, then?" said the Lawyer, leaning forward, at a certain point of the conversation.

"The gentleman, it has been said, is a man who is never offensive unintentionally," said the Parson.

Two of the guests murmured "intentionally" by way of a correction, and the Parson smiled.

"No," he said, "a gentleman is sometimes offensive when honor and reason demand it, but then he *means* to be. The man who is not a gentleman is often offensive when he does *not* mean to be."

"But is he always a gentleman when he is intentionally offensive?" said the Lawyer.

"The gentleman is," said the Parson with a smile.

"Then," said the Lawyer, "all that your definition amounts to is that a gentleman is a man who is always a gentleman? I admit that; but it doesn't seem to get us much further!"

"No," said the Parson, "it does not get us much further; but that is because we all know a gentleman when we see him, but we cannot always predict how he will behave. I have heard a gentleman say a thing without discourtesy, which was repeated after him, word for word, by another member of the party, and it became discourteous at once. It isn't what the gentleman says or does, it is something behind—intention, attitude, manner, method. The gentleman can say a thing which would be impertinent if another person said it. I will tell you a story to illustrate that. Not very long ago it was desired to have an exhibition of pictures at Cambridge, and King Edward was asked if he would allow some of his collection to be shown. He sent for the Vice-Chancellor, who was a man of great courtesy, told him he would be very glad to lend some pictures, but

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wished to know what the exact aim of the exhibition was. The Vice-Chancellor said that the intention was to give the undergraduates the opportunity of seeing some illustrative specimens of the best art, and added, 'And then, sir, we think it might keep some of them out of mischief; it might be a counter-attraction to Newmarket.' The King laughed, and said, 'Newmarket? When I was at Cambridge, I don't think any undergraduates ever thought of going *there!*' That was a piece of delightful conversational fencing, perfectly handled on both sides."

The Lawyer laughed. "Yes, I admit that was very good," he said. "Now," he went on, "I will tell you a story on the other side. There was a well-known writer of comic opera, whose temper at the rehearsals was very formidable. There was a shy chorus girl, who had to sing a bit of a solo. She was very nervous, and she dropped an aspirate or two. The author said with icy patience, 'No, we must have that again! It won't do. You don't pronounce it properly!' The girl sang it again, and it was worse than ever. The author shrugged his shoulders, and said, 'Well, we must do the best we can—I ought to remember that it takes a lady to sing my lines.' The chorus girl lost her temper and said, 'It doesn't seem to take a gentleman to write them!'"

"Bravo!" said the Parson, "that was a girl of spirit!"

"But I am afraid it was hardly an instance of Christian meekness!" said the Lawyer.

"Perhaps not," said the Parson with a smile. "But, after all, conversation is only a kind of game; it isn't a Christian characteristic, if one plays lawn-tennis, to miss all one's adversary's strokes in order that he may have the pleasure of winning."

"We are getting away from the point," said the host. "Do let us pursue the subject. Cannot any of us define a gentleman?"

"The difficulty," said the Parson, "is that the gentleman tends to be the least conspicuous person of a party; he is perfectly natural; he doesn't want to impress any one, or to shine; he is the least noticeable, for instance, in dress, neither slovenly nor over-smart; his clothes need not fit him, but they must be a part of him; they must seem absolutely appropriate, whether they are shabby or new. I am not sure that he is not the person who wants the people he is with to

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be happy in their own way; and that will sometimes lead him to say a sharp thing, if any one present seems to be disposed to tyrannize,—because he must have something of the knight about him, and must be able to floor a bully, if necessary; but he must always do it good-humoredly. Do you remember what Jowett said to the man who tried to tell an improper story at his dinner-table, over the wine? He rose and said, 'Shall we continue this conversation in the drawing-room?' A gentleman must have spirit and courage, not to show off, but for use, when it is wanted. He must not be wholly meek."

"It is an interesting question," said the Lawyer, "whether it is consistent for a gentleman to be a bore."

"It is just possible," said the Parson. "There are several kinds of bores. There is the bore who is so much absorbed in his own thoughts that he does not notice that other people are not interested; nor does he very much care; and there is a species of bore—the good-humored bore—who is genuinely anxious that other people should be amused, but does it clumsily; one may love a bore, even though one may dread his company."

"Must a gentleman be lovable?" said the host.

"Certainly not," said the Lawyer; "one may have a very fine gentleman indeed, absolutely honorable, chivalrous, unpretentious, perfectly just, who is not lovable at all, who is sustained by his very pride, and even by his contempt for other people, from ever being discourteous to them; not because he owes it to them, but because he owes it to himself; he may have no sort of sympathy for other people, and demand none, but yet be perfectly courteous and kind. I am not sure, indeed, that this does not make the finest sort of gentleman."

"There!" said the Parson, "that just shows how differently one uses words. That sort of man does not seem to me to be a gentleman at all. Modesty which does not stand for humility seems to me to be very nearly a kind of hypocrisy. A man of wealth and position ought to feel that he is so by a happy accident, not that it is the natural setting for his greatness. Do you remember the picturesque figure of Cluny in *Kidnapped;* the petty state he kept, his dignity, his elaborate courtesy? I always feel Cluny to have been an old snob behind it all, with his gossip about Prince Charlie, and his suspicion about affronts. Robin Oig was

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just the same; he was very polite to David Balfour, because he thought that he was of some reasonable degree of nearness of kin to Balfour of Baith. But when the boy did not know anything about his family, Robin turned on his heel and muttered that he was a kinless loon that didn't know his own father. I am not sure that I do not think that pride of birth is the most ungentlemanly thing in the world."

"That isn't the current opinion," said the Lawyer.

"No," said the Parson, "but that is because in England we rank people horizontally instead of vertically. One finds gentlemen in every sort of class; and a man can be very well-born and very ill-bred, like Byron. A gentleman can be neither proud nor vain; he must meet every one with quiet, friendly, kindly dignity. You must feel absolutely sure of him, sure that he will never do a mean or a spiteful thing. I think a gentleman can hardly escape being a good man, because the essence of wickedness is injustice, and a desire to have more than your share; a gentleman must be liberal, though not profuse; he must be simple, full of good-will, with no condescension, and still less ostentation. The essence of it is an artistic kind of social justice, I believe, taking people as they are, finding one's circle ready-made; a gentleman never wants to migrate out of his class, and I don't think he can be allowed to have ambition. He must be set on making the best of life as it is, at every moment of the day; he must be always aware of the drift of other people's thoughts and moods, and he must never set his own mood against theirs. In fact I believe it is a blend of sympathy and self-possession."

"Well," said the Lawyer, "you may be right, but I confess to feeling it all rather flat. I really don't think I know any one who would consider himself a gentleman on those lines."

"You have hit it," said the Parson, "the point of the whole thing is that no gentleman ever thinks whether he is or is not one."

ARTHUR C. BENSON.

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SOME IMPLICATIONS OF BERGSON'S PHILOSOPHY

BY LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX.

WHEN a philosopher, accepted by the Academical, reaches the stage at which four hundred and seventeen books and pamphlets are written about his philosophy in twenty years; when thousands of people are turned from the doors of his discourses in both Paris and New York, and women's clubs clamor to hear him explained, it is quite time to find out what elements in a serious thinker have also gone to building up his popularity.

One can always take it for granted that it is not the serious and coherent thought that has appealed to the multitude. One has only to see how Bergson's name figures in the religious reviews to realize that what the rank and file have found in him for their solace is a reason for the faith that is in them. The world in its wild whirl toward democracy is more and more impatient of authority and less and less willing to accept one mode of thought as more convincing than another. Democracy believes in itself; not in authority. It accepts snap judgments as readily as the result of years of precisely worked out theory of life.

Probably the first reason to offer for Bergson's amazing vogue is that the people—the people with a big P—of whom our great ex-President so often volubly speaks—believe in their own feelings, and in reading Bergson they identify their spontaneous emotions with Bergson's intuitions. Secondly, mankind cannot and will not live without hope, and so far as they can follow Bergson's theory of creative evolution they derive hope from it. Again, Bergson is one of the few great philosophers who do not shy at the word God, and so long as we have with us the humble, the meek, the poor-in-spirit, we shall have with us also that word, or some equivalent for that word.

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Even those who have read Bergson so superficially that they have overlooked his use of the word still feel that it is implicated in his entire setting forth of the processes of life. In vain will Dr. Dewey, with his cold, relentless logic, insist that if the traits which he alleges demarcate perception, and the objective material with which it deals from a reality marked by genuine presence of temporal considerations have disappeared, then Bergson's whole theory of time, memory, and mind, as things inherently sundered from organic action, must be revised. This is the thesis Dr. Dewey undertakes to make clear in his *Perception and Organic Action.* But alas! he writes in a language unknown to the people, and pleads for results which run counter to the prejudices and innate demands of all humanity.

The one great tragedy of all human life is isolation; the one great solace of the human soul is solidarity or the feeling of being bound to other souls, to other systems, to other ages. Why otherwise this age-old tendency of mankind to find a common power to serve, cajole, fear, and finally love? Why otherwise this increasing search to find our world bound up with other worlds, our time to all times, our system to greater systems? "The soul," as Maeterlinck says, "is very lonely." This is one of the most fundamental emotions of life. Whatever philosopher then can meet this emotion with hope and promise offers consolation. And is it not solace, and always and ever solace, that "the damned human race," as Mark Twain lovingly called it, is reaching out for?

Doubtless the solace Bergson gives is not so immediate or so vital as the uninitiate who read him believe. But he offers a handle to all the spiritualistically inclined when he says:

> Things and states are only views taken by our mind, of becoming. There *are no things, there are only* actions. . . . Now I have every reason to believe that other worlds are analogous to ours, that things happen there in the same way. . . . Now if the same kind of action is going on everywhere, whether it is that which is unmaking itself or whether it is that which is striving to remake itself, I simply express this probable similitude when I speak of a center from which worlds shoot out like rockets in a fireworks display—provided, however, that I do not present this center as a *thing,* but as a continuity of shooting out. God thus defined has nothing of the already made; He is unceasing life, action, freedom. Creation so conceived is not a mystery; we experience it in ourselves when we act freely.

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He continues:

> That new things can join things already existing is absurd, no doubt, since the *thing* results from a solidification performed by our understanding, and there are never any things other than those that the understanding has thus constituted. To think of things creating themselves would therefore amount to saying that the understanding presents to itself more than it presents to itself.

Now what average man draws from this is that matter, that terrible weight under which creation grows and travails, is the slave of the spirit and to be controlled by the spirit and understanding, which is the sole hope of man. Life is a great spiritual movement, of which materiality is the inverse movement; the matter which forms a world is an undivided flux—but undivided also the life (or spirit) that runs through it, cutting out in it living beings all along its track.

This gives men the sense of the unity of spirit and spirits' unified striving, which is consoling.

Again, in a world where freedom so often seems a dream and where so many philosophies leave us thinking of ourselves as petty automatons, it is comforting to read:

> Let us seek in the depths of our experience the point where we feel ourselves most intimately within our own life. It is into pure duration that we then plunge back, a duration in which the past, always moving on, is swelling unceasingly with a present that is absolutely new. But at the same time we feel the spring of our will strained to its utmost limit. We must by a strong recoil of our personality on itself gather up our past which is slipping away, in order to thrust it, compact and undivided, into a present which it will create by entering. Rare indeed are the moments when we are self-possessed to this extent: it is then that our actions are truly free.

Here, then, is a partial reinstatement of human freedom, not so different, indeed, from the freedom we have always believed in. If we sum up our past, if we get an idea of it as a whole, and then with all the consciousness and understanding and will we have gained push on to the present moment, we do freely create it.

One more point of solace in Bergson's philosophy is the sternness with which he has shown the intellect its place. It is a valuable instrument for advising as to immediate action, but it has never given us an inkling as to the ultimate nature of reality. That which lends us the sense of reality is the power within which the average man, and even more—all women—trust.

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Instinct is sympathy. If this sympathy could extend its object and also reflect upon itself, it would give us the key to vital operations—just as intelligence, developed and disciplined, guides us into matter. For—we cannot too often repeat it—intelligence and instinct are turned in opposite directions, the former toward inert matter, the latter toward life. Intelligence by means of science, which is its work, will deliver up to us more and more completely the secret of physical operations; of life it brings us, and, moreover, only claims to bring us, a translation in terms of inertia. . . . But it is to the very inwardness of life that intuition leads us—by intuition I mean instinct that has become disinterested, self-conscious, capable of reflecting upon its object and of enlarging it indefinitely.

Only technical philosophers can pick flaws in Bergson's logic, but the average interested reader will come from him consoled and strengthened, realizing that he has had restored to him faith in the intuitions which have always seemed to him to lie deeper than his logical reason; belief in freedom and responsibility, and finally rescue from a hopeless isolation. He has, indeed, given men more power to act and to live. For, reading him, we feel

ourselves no longer isolated in humanity, humanity no longer isolated in the nature that it dominates. As the smallest grain of dust is bound up with our entire solar system, drawn along with it in that undivided movement of descent which is materially itself, so all organized beings, from the humblest to the highest, from the first origins of life to the time in which we are, and in all places as in all times, do but evidence a single impulsion, the inverse of the movement of matter, and in itself indivisible. All the living hold together and all yield to the same tremendous push. The animal takes its stand on the plant, man bestrides animality, and the whole of humanity, in space and in time, is one immense army galloping beside and before and behind each of us in an overwhelming charge, able to beat down every resistance and clear the most formidable obstacles, perhaps even death.

When a great philosopher can speak to other philosophers with authority, and yet with an eloquence and a power which reach the average man, and can honestly offer the bread of life, Hope, there is no further need to account for the four hundred and seventeen volumes written about him in the last twenty years.

LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX.

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MUSIC AND DRAMA

SIGNIFICANT HAPPENINGS OF THE MONTH

The Irrubrical Schönberg and his Extraordinary Music.—"Don Quixote" and—Massenet

BY LAWRENCE GILMAN

THE most difficult problem that Art presents to the human intelligence is one that is never permanently solved: we mean the problem of the innovator, the path-breaker, the smasher of idols. It is a problem of unexampled difficulty because it is eternally recurrent. It was not settled when the world, three hundred years ago, first repudiated, then accepted, the harmonic irreverences of Claudio Monteverde; it was not settled when, later on, it went through substantially the same performance with Beethoven; or when, still later, it balked at, then embraced, Richard Wagner; and after him, Richard Strauss (over whom, it is to be noted, many of the faithful are still rather painfully gagging). It is all because of the deplorable fact that the Progressive of to-day, be he ever so liberal, enlightened, and receptive, is the Conservative, the esthetic Stand-patter, the Obstructionist, of to-morrow. Those who, a quarter-century ago, welcomed, extolled, and promoted the heterdoxies of Wagner, who yesterday were shamefacedly uneasy over Richard Strauss and Debussy, to-day are openly and vehemently hostile to the irrubrical Arnold Schönberg—who happens to be the conspicuous idol-breaker of our time. There is no help for it: the difficulty is inevitable. However responsive, however flexible, however hospitable we may be, there is bound to come an hour when some new voice will speak out of the art that is contemporary with us in a tongue that is alien and repugnant; and we shall find ourselves exclaiming against it as passionately, with as sincere a conviction that we are defending the most sacred and immutable canons of

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art against a ruthless violator, as did our grandfathers against the iconoclast who is to us a classic. What is being said to-day of Schönberg—that he is "lifting the art of music from its ancient foundations, which have upheld it since the night of time, and setting it upon new ones"—is what, in substance, has been said of every innovator of the past.

What is one to do about it? Nothing—except to petition the gods for wisdom and forbearance and spiritual humility, the while one utters frankly, after due fasting and prayer, the conviction that is within the soul.

For example, there is the case of Schönberg, the idol-breaker whom we have already mentioned. Let us confess at once that we hold no brief for Schönberg; we are not of the cult. Nor are we of the opposition. We should like nothing better than to be thrilled by this extraordinary music-maker, though as yet—but we shall come to that later. The point is that Schönberg (who is a sober and industrious Viennese of forty) is causing many of us, his contemporary auditors, to display precisely the same spiritual rigidity, to indulge in precisely the same opposition and contumely, for which we so complacently upbraid those who, half a century ago, witnessed the unsettling procedures of Richard Wagner; the only difference being that we have an uncomfortable suspicion that we may be making asses of ourselves, whereas the anti-Wagnerites of fifty years ago had no such self-conscious and morbid misgiving, but went about their solemn business of upholding the eternal verities of art with a perfect and invincible assurance of rectitude. It is, as we have observed, an everlastingly recurrent comedy—this comedy of the innovator and his wrathful contemporaries; and of all comedies of the intellect, what other is equally delectable and piquant? If the more ardent of the Schönbergites choose to claim that he is a revolutionist of Wagnerian girth and stature, what—in case we don't think so—are we going to do about it? There are three courses open to us: We can unqualifiedly or equivocally deny it, and thus incur the possible derision of a posterity that may reverse us; or we can yield our sincerity and join enthusiastically in the triumphal chorus, running the equally possible risk of being set down by our grandchildren as credulous dupes; or we can refuse to commit ourselves—which is both dishonest and cowardly. Which brings us to some considera-

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tion of the occasion of these remarks: the recent performance by the Flonzaley Quartet (a performance of incredible virtuosity) of Schönberg's string quartet in D-minor, opus 7.

Schönberg is easily the most "modern" of the moderns—the most venturesome, the most flagrant in his disregard of all the rules of the game. He has been called a madman. He has passionate adherents, and equally passionate opponents. When the D-minor quartet was first played in Vienna, as Mr. Kurt Schindler relates in his entertaining brochure on the composer, the audience indulged in "one of those sensational 'Hetzen,'—a kind of stampede characteristic of the Viennese, when they tried by hissing, stamping, and ridicule to stop the performance of the players." And this quartet is by no means Schönberg at his most typical—it dates from 1905, and is of the composer's "second period" (for, like Beethoven, Schönberg has already attained to the dignity of having his work divided into "periods" of differing characteristics). There is a "third period"—Schönberg's latest phase; and it is particularly the works of this period, as Mr. Schindler remarks, that have provoked such a storm of indignation and protest in Europe; for in these latest compositions "all precedents seem abolished—we enter a *terra incognita,* to all appearances an utterly barren, desolate, unfriendly land, the musical Antarctic, so to say." We have heard some of the music of this "third period," and we heartily agree with Mr. Schindler that it constitutes an esthetic *terra incognita*—of this we shall have a word to say later. As to the D-minor quartet—the first characteristic example of Schönberg's writing that has been heard in New York—there is this to be said at the start: parts of it, as the adagio and the final pages, are beautiful with a beauty that is as an open book—a beauty that no sensitive hearer will fail to perceive; a beauty that is grave and exquisite, that enlarges the spirit and lingers in the heart. These pages we can all gladly and uncompromisingly acclaim—as the perplexed and angry public of Wagner's lifetime used to except and accept, with a relief that is now comically pathetic, the bridal music in "Lohengrin," the Spring Song in "Walküre." But it is not this aspect of Schönberg that is in question—it is not because of such things as these that he is an "issue," a Burning Question, in contemporary music. The essential, the problematical, Schönberg is to be found in the first section of this quartet.

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in—as Mr. Schindler meticulously warns us—" the opening ten minutes " (the quartet takes fifty-two minutes to perform). It is while listening to these initial pages that even the most imperturbable of " modernists " receives a shock.

It is not easy to describe the peculiarity of these passages to those who do not understand the special terminology of music. And as very few cultivated men or women who are not musicians ever take the trouble to approach music on its intellectual side, we find ourselves somewhat at a loss in the matter, since we are disinclined to turn these remarks into an elementary treatise on the art of composition. Let it suffice to say that with Schönberg the art of polyphonic writing—which, traditionally, means the art of combining a number of different melodies so that they will form a coherent and euphonious whole — is transformed into something the like of which was never heard on sea or land. Richard Strauss, who in his operas and tone-poems often makes the various instruments of his orchestra sing many different melodies at once, has achieved combinations of extreme audacity. But even Strauss has some concern for the resultant effect of his part-writing, which is always interesting, often thrilling, and sometimes ravishingly beautiful. Schönberg has apparently no such concern. His ideal, it has been said for him, is " absolute independence of part-writing "; and this he has assuredly achieved. The different melodic voices in his instrumental choir proceed upon their several ways with a nonchalant indifference to the resultant effect that is both staggering and amusing in its cool effrontery. The sounds that issue from the four viols in the opening pages of this quartet are without precedent or parallel in music.

We have heard, besides the D-minor quartet, the group of short pieces for piano which belong to Schönberg's " third period." In these the uncouthness, the grotesque homeliness, the apparent harmonic insanity, which characterize the opening pages of the quartet, are even more marked; and here they seem to be deliberately contrived, instead of being simply the result of independent part-writing, as in the earlier composition.

We have tried to like this music (we are considering it only in its typically Schönbergian aspects)—we have earnestly desired to be moved by it, to find in it power or eloquence or beauty; but we have not succeeded. It seems to us

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immeasurably dull. We do not say that it is ugly, for ugliness in music is often fascinating; we say merely that it is dull, flat, homely, and insipid. Its dissonances do not bite—they have no poignancy, no tang, no savor. There are dissonances in Strauss, in Debussy, in D'Indy, that are as uncanonical as anything in Schönberg; yet they have something besides mere harshness; they have force, vividness, grip—they do not easily fade from the memory. Who that has sensitively heard it can ever forget the effect of that terrific passage in "Salome" which accompanies the delivery of the Forerunner's severed head to the daughter of Herodias! *There* is an effect of dissonance that has feeling, eloquence, power. We mislike the Schönbergian audacities not because they are so flagrant, but because they are so ineffective. They lack intensity, they lack ecstasy—for there can be an ecstatic quality in ugliness as well as in beauty.

There is no question of Schönberg's sincerity or of his complete seriousness. He is not writing to make the bourgeois sit up—all the testimony of those who know his life and his characteristics points away from that convenient hypothesis. He writes as he does because that is honestly the way he feels. Is the flat uncouthness of those dully cacophonous pages in the piano pieces full of meaning and eloquence to him? Does his ear—perhaps finer and more acute than ours—discern in them a beauty that is beyond our range of perception? In this perplexing matter we cannot fall back upon the oft-quoted dictum of Berlioz, so comforting to many, that "whatever [in music] produces a good effect is good, and whatever produces a bad effect is bad." Never was there a famous generalization that more inanely begged the question; for, as some one should have asked the sapient Berlioz, who is to say whether the "effect" is "good" or "bad"? Obviously, it may be for one hearer "a good effect," for another "a bad effect"; who is to decide which is the true estimation?

Is Schönberg, then, a revolutionary genius, or is he not? We are uninformed. We have not a trace of hostility toward him. He does not fill us with alarm, or outrage our convictions. We do not know whether he is upsetting the ancient foundations of musical art or not, and we do not care—we should not mind if he turned them upside down, so long as he stirred us, or filled us with awe, or made us dream. Our

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chief, indeed our only, objection to him is that we find him dull.

The last man in the world who should have attempted to set "Don Quixote" to music was Jules Massenet. "Don Quixote" is nothing if not noble: Massenet, as a composer, did not know the meaning of the word. "Don Quixote" is deeply human, deeply tender: Massenet's humanity and tenderness were never more than skin-deep. The humor of "Don Quixote" is the profoundest, the most philosophical, the most touching, in all literature: the humor of Massenet was superficial, brainless, unaffecting.

There have been many attempts at a tonal setting of Cervantes' incomparable romance. Massenet's is merely the latest, and it surely must be the most futile! It is based upon a comedy made out of Cervantes' book by the French shoemaker-poet Jacques le Lorraine, and turned into a libretto by Massenet's industrious co-worker, Henri Cain. It would not be easy to say which is the worse, Cain's libretto or Massenet's music. Probably the music is the more affronting; for few take seriously the action or text of an operatic story, whereas the music is inescapable.

There is no need to discuss seriously the libretto of this precious opera. It is not only one of the poorest that has ever come under our notice, but it cannot help but be an exasperation and an offense to any lover of Cervantes' story. It is enough to say that virtually none of the poetic, dramatic, and emotional elements of the original are to be found in this debased and dilute paraphrase.

As for Massenet's music, it merits the dignity of characterization only because its composer was a man of great prominence, and because it has received the wholly undeserved honor of a hearing at the Metropolitan, where the opera was given lately by an able and hard-working troupe of artists—the Chicago-Philadelphia Opera Company, who should have been occupying their time and talents with something more rewarding. It is sufficient to observe that in this score Massenet is at his worst. The music is without beauty, without force, without characterization, without fine feeling or fine humor; wholly without imagination. Of the nobility, the idealism, the rich comedy, the insupportable pathos, of the original, there is no hint whatsoever. The invention throughout is feeble, trite, paltry. It has all of Massenet's

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familiar superficiality, triviality, and watery sentimentalism; and hardly anything of his better qualities: his grace and finesse, his sensuousness and his occasional passion—the sensuousness that is too often ignoble, the passion that is too often of the boudoir.

The opera as a whole is a miserable, a discreditable, travesty. It makes one long to hear again the one setting of "Don Quixote" that achieves the feat of translating Cervantes into tone: the superb and outrageously misunderstood tone-poem of Richard Strauss—music in which all that is most lovable, most touching, most noble, and most profound in the great comedy (or is it a tragedy?) finds its perfect complement; a setting that is beyond all praise for its fidelity and eloquence; a masterpiece among masterpieces.

LAWRENCE GILMAN.

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THE BOOK OF THE MONTH[1]

BY F. M. COLBY

MR. CHESTERTON in times past has argued ably for the superficial aspect of things, saying truth lay on the surface, and the first glance was the best. He has been very consistent in the application of this principle, and has seldom stopped to think a second time. This at one time occasioned much scandal among serious reviewers, who, having no notion of the latitude of literature, damned him for literal inexactitude. It was especially noticeable in our own country, where literary "culture," being rare, is enormously conscious of itself and meticulous. For five or six years after Mr. Chesterton began writing his agreeable fantasies, serious American critics continued to lament that they were not judicious. I remember that on the appearance of a particularly riotous and amusing volume of his, one of them remarked that Mr. Chesterton had already published several books "at an age when many a scholar is, with much self-questioning and many doubts, first venturing to contribute of his accumulated treasure toward the enrichment of the world's thought." For a long time it was necessary to explain to those academic and literal-minded persons that Mr. Chesterton was not a scholar or a guide or a counselor, and not at all the sort of man who could safely be made Professor of English Literature or the editor of the Chicago *Dial* or the Commissioner of Education, and yet should not be spurned utterly, for all that. And for a long time it did no good whatever. They merely hissed "impressionist" and "mountebank," and said he had formed the habit of standing on his head. Many critics would make that last remark with an air of great bitterness, yet without offering a shadow of proof that they had put their own heads to any

[1] *The Flying Inn.* By Gilbert K. Chesterton. New York: John Lane Company, 1914.

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better use. His *Heretics,* for example, was condemned by stern London judges for blasphemy because it implied that St. Peter was a "snob," and Mr. Chesterton was warned that henceforth his books would be excluded from respectable homes.

Times have changed, and nowadays he seems to be read in a more care-free spirit. Fewer people resort to him solely with a view to mental growth or moral fortification, and dignified reviewers generally confine themselves to saying how breathless he leaves them. They return from each new book as from a snowball fight with a grandson. Thus this latest volume, *The Flying Inn,* is generally acclaimed as "merry," "mad," "hilarious," "dizzy," full of the "wine of laughter," "kaleidoscopic," and a "breathless rush of rollicking nonsense." In this instance these explosive praises are somewhat misleading. The reading of *The Flying Inn* can be achieved with perfect calmness, and may even bring a little weariness to those who have really enjoyed its three predecessors, *The Napoleon of Notting Hill, The Man Who Was Thursday,* and *Manalive.*

A reader who is not bored by Mr. Chesterton some of the time probably gets very little genuine pleasure out of him any of the time. For his determination to cause astonishment often leads to a sort of routine in over-emphasis. Page after page is written apparently with no other purpose than that some old gentleman should call him outrageous. There are chapters wherein, apparently, he stops thinking for himself altogether and contents himself with inserting negatives into what he conceives to be other people's thoughts. This is especially true of his essays. "The fundamental fact of our time is the failure of the successful man." "A revolutionist would say (with perfect truth) that coal-owners know next to nothing about coal-mining. But we are past that point. Coal-owners know next to nothing about coal-owning." "We human beings have never worshiped nature; and, indeed, the reason is very simple. It is that all human beings are superhuman beings." These things, scattered all through the pages of his essays, spring too obviously from his horror of sleepiness. He has said somewhere that "a yawn is a stifled yell."

He is at his best when he forgets his vow to set the river on fire, and *The Flying Inn* is too strictly governed by that grim resolve. He has done the same sort of thing before,

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and done it better, and it reads in part like rather a forced gesture in self-imitation, reminding one a little of the lamentable case of the Professor in *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table* who, under unfavorable conditions, tries to repeat his triumph of " The One-Hoss Shay ":

> I'm the fellah that tole one day
> The tale of the won'erful one-hoss shay.
> Wan' to hear another? Say,
> Funny, wasn't it? Made *me* laugh—
> I'm too modest, I am, by half—
> Made me laugh's though I sh'd split.
> Cahn' a fellah like a fellah's own wit?
> Fellahs keep sayin'—" Well, now—that's nice;
> Did it once but cahn' do it twice."

And when the Autocrat told him tenderly but firmly that he smelt of spirits, " two large tears orbed themselves between the Professor's eyelids," for it seemed that he had been taking chloroform to have a tooth out, and an alcohol lamp had been spilt on his legs.

The Flying Inn is the fanciful tale of a gigantic mad Irishman who capers about the country with a barrel of rum and a round cheese in order to evade a new law passed by a fanatical government closing all the public houses in the British Isles. Lord Ivywood, after getting his prohibition law through Parliament, closes up an inn called " The Old Ship " on his own estate, but Patrick Dalroy, the Irishman, and the proprietor, Humphrey Pump, seizing the sign, escape with it and with the rum and the cheese. Owing to the loose wording of the law, it applies only to stationary public houses, and they are able to sell liquor at their flying inn, that is to say, wherever they set the sign up. This they do at the most unexpected places—for example, at a hall where a Higher Thought meeting is held, at a model village inhabited by persons who live on medicated milk, and at Lord Ivywood's own door. Any true Chestertonian will readily imagine the loud incongruities of these adventures, the riotous drinking songs shouted on inappropriate occasions, and the persistent tilting at what the author regards as manifestations of the " Modern " spirit in contrast to the spirit of some imaginary past epoch when human nature was altogether different from what it is to-day.

Take, for example, the model village of health-seekers who live on Dr. Meadows's far-famed medicated milk. The

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name of it was Peaceways, and it corresponded to what we call a Garden City, with everything in it perfectly hygienic, regular, and monotonous. Dr. Meadows, the founder, had discovered the secret of longevity.

> He attracted many pupils and backers among the wealthy and influential; young men who were, so to speak, training for extreme old age, infant old men, embryo nonagenarians. It would be an exaggeration to say that they watched joyfully for the first white hair as Fascination Fledgeby watched for his first whisker; but it is quite true to say that they seemed to have scorned the beauty of women and the feasting of friends, and, above all, the old idea of death with glory, in comparison with this vision of the sports of second childhood.

"Progress in the modern sense," says Mr. Chesterton in his *Miscellany of Men*, "is a very dismal drudge; and mostly consists of being moved on by the police." This view pervades the present volume, which, apart from the story, is a satire on a series of modern notions and movements—philanthrophy, teetotalism, vegetarianism, eugenics, religious eclecticism, humanitarianism, sanitary reform, futurism, and many other things concerning which any man who has not happened to read the same magazines and newspapers as Mr. Chesterton will be in some doubt. He has confounded the "modern spirit" with his own more or less accidental experience in contemporaneity, and the result of it is that no one who has not traveled the same route can make out in all cases the butt of his ridicule. Moreover, although the book is marked by a strong desire to make fun, it betrays some indecision as to what actually is to be made fun of. It is as if he had got himself into high spirits in a great hurry and without finding a suitable object on which to let them go.

The nonsense rhymes are the best part of it.

> Before the Roman came to Rye or out to Severn strode,
> The rolling English drunkard made the rolling English road.
> A reeling road, a rolling road, that rambles round the shire.
> And after him the parson ran, the sexton, and the squire,
> A merry road, a mazy road, and such as we did tread
> That night we went to Birmingham by way of Beachy Head.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> His sins they were forgiven him; or why do flowers run
> Behind him; and the hedges all strengthening in the sun?
> The wild thing went from left to right and knew not which was which,
> But the wild rose was above him when they found him in the ditch.

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God pardon us, nor harden us; we did not see so clear
The night we went to Bannockburn by way of Brighton Pier.

Lord Ivywood, who evidently represents the spirit of "modern enlightenment" and "advance," wishes to combine all that is good in the religions of both the East and West. Specifically he aims at the union of Islam and Christianity in a new and better type of faith, which the mad Irishman calls derisively "Chrislam." Lord Ivywood is an evolutionist, an apostle of "relativity," with so open a mind that almost anything can get into it, and he becomes possessed with the idea that England should be Orientalized—mainly on vegetarian and teetotalistic grounds.

I shall always give a high place, said he, as Islam has always given a high place, to that figure, mythical or no, which we find presiding over the foundations of Christianity. I cannot doubt that the fable, incredible and revolting otherwise, which records the rush of swine into the sea, was an allegory of his early realization that a spirit, evil indeed, does reside in all animals in so far as they tempt us to devour them. I cannot doubt that the Prodigal leaving his sins among the swine is another illustration of the great thesis of the Prophet of the Moon. But here, also, progress and relativity are relentless in their advance; and not a few of us may have risen to-day to the point of regretting that the joyful sounds around the return of the Prodigal should be marred by the moaning of a calf.

Interspersed with this sort of thing we have by way of refutation the songs of the peripatetic inn-keeper:

God made the wicked Grocer
  For a mystery and a sign
That men might shun the awful shops
  And go to inns to dine;
Where the bacon's on the rafter
  And the wine is in the wood,
And God that made good laughter
  Has seen that they are good.

. . . . .

The righteous minds of innkeepers
  Induce them now and then
To crack a bottle with a friend
  Or treat unmoneyed men;
But who hath seen the Grocer
  Treat housemaids to his teas,
Or crack a bottle of fish-sauce,
  Or stand a man a cheese?

Why in the end Lord Ivywood turns out a hopeless lunatic while the mad Irishman is revealed as the type of perfect

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sanity will be clear to any one who recalls Mr. Chesterton's doctrine that logic in human affairs leads straight to the madhouse, whereas the divine inconsistencies of the Christian faith are the only sure guides in practical living. It resounds with the usual Chestertonian exaggerations, which I suppose the author defends on the ground that a hot half-truth is better than a cold whole one.

There is some excellent caricature of types with which he is manifestly familiar—especially in the domain of political journalism. For example, there is the gentleman, "known by what seemed to the non-journalistic world the singular name of Hibbs However." No one could have conceived this character who had not absorbed a great many leading articles in the London *Times*. The nearest approach to him in this country is the conspicuously "safe and sane" editorial writer on newspapers that represent the "better element." The nickname arose from "the almost complicated caution with which all his public criticisms were qualified at every turn."

As his salary grew larger (for editors and proprietors like that sort of thing) and his old friends fewer (for the most generous of friends cannot but feel faintly acid at a success which has in it nothing of the infectious flavor of glory) he grew more and more to value himself as a diplomatist; a man who always said the right thing. But he was not without his intellectual nemesis; for at last he became so very diplomatic as to be darkly and densely unintelligible. People who knew him had no difficulty in believing that what he said was the right thing, the tactful thing, the thing that should save the situation; but they had great difficulty in discovering what it was. In his early days he had had a great talent for one of the worst tricks of modern journalism, the trick of dismissing the important part of a question as if it could wait, and appearing to get to business on the unimportant part of it. Thus, he would say, "Whatever we may think of the rights and wrongs of the vivisection of pauper children, we shall all agree that it should only be done, in any event, by fully qualified practitioners." But in the later and darker days of his diplomacy, he seemed rather to dismiss the important part of a subject, and get to grips with some totally different subject. . . . He was just as likely to say, "Whatever we may think of the rights and wrongs of the vivisection of pauper children, no progressive mind can doubt that the influence of the Vatican is on the decline." His nickname had stuck to him in honor of a paragraph he was alleged to have written when the American President was wounded by a bullet fired by a lunatic in New Orleans, and which was said to have run: "The President passed a good night and his condition is greatly improved. The assassin is not, however, a German, as was at first supposed." Men stared at that mysterious conjunction till they wanted to go mad and shoot somebody themselves.

F. M. Colby.

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NEW BOOKS REVIEWED

FAMILIAR SPANISH TRAVELS. By WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1913.

Mr. Howells's fine power of blending subjective impression with clearly visualized fact, yet of distinguishing the two in such a way that neither is the outward truth vitiated nor the personal impression dimmed, is a source of immediate pleasure and of critical admiration to his readers. Things incidentally mentioned become as real as if actually seen, and the comment, the personal view, shades unobtrusively, but never deceitfully, into the representation of the fact itself. The hard reality is evoked, with its emotional effect, its remoter associations, its perhaps jocular or sentimental suggestions, and the momentary circumstances of the occasion—in a mere paragraph or two. We take it all in with extraordinary ease, unconscious of the difficulties of the writer's art, though keenly appreciative of the richness of his style. No other writer, perhaps, is so skilled in reproducing the whole of an experience, as it completely affects us, without straining the medium of expression. Most narratives and descriptions rather artificially analyze and select; but Mr. Howells succeeds to a remarkable degree in conveying all the overlapping and more or less incongruous elements that make up our appreciation of a scene or an event—in other words, he writes like life.

No guide-book enumeration of the places visited by Mr. Howells in the course of his familiar Spanish travels can give anything like a true impression of the book he has written about them; for each paragraph of the book has its own unique quality. In the chance glimpses it gives of human character and behavior, there is as much enjoyment as in the deliberate viewing of the Escorial or the Alhambra. In the following brief, casual description of a wedding party, there is all the best charm of fiction, the charm of a truthful realization that deepens one's sense of such values as those set forth:

"All the faces had the quiet which the Spanish face has in such degree that the quiet seems national more than personal; but the women's faces were oval, though rather heavily based, while the men's were squared, with high cheek-bones, and they seemed more distinctly middle class. Men and women had equally repose of manner, and when the women came to put on their headgear near our corner, it was with a surface calm unbroken by what must have been their inner excitement. They wore hats and mantillas in about the same proportion; but the bride wore a black mantilla and a black dress with sprigs of orange blossoms in her hair and on her breast for the only note of white. Her lovely, gentle face was white, of course, from the universal powder, and so were the faces of the others, who talked in low tones around her, with scarcely more animation than so many

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masks. The handsomest of them, whom we decided to be her sister, arranged the bride's mantilla and was then helped on with hers by the others, with soft smiles and glances. Two little girls, imaginably sorry the feast was over, suppressed their regret in the tutelage of the maiden aunts and grandmothers who put up cakes in napkins to carry home; and then the party vanished in unbroken decorum."

To view La Mancha with Mr. Howells and to share with him the warmth of his kindling memories of Don Quixote; to see the Alhambra, or part of it, as it indubitably and somewhat disappointingly is, and yet to feel more than ever before, perhaps, the glamour that Washington Irving has cast over the place—such enjoyments add as much in their way as does fiction or poetry to the richness of the imaginative life that is an integral part of real life.

WITH THE RUSSIAN PILGRIMS TO JERUSALEM. By STEPHEN GRAHAM. London: Macmillan & Company, Limited, 1913.

Mr. Graham's book is much more than an account of an odd journey or the description of a little-known religious ceremony. The reading of it rewards one with the sense of a real experience gained, a real understanding acquired. To go to Jerusalem in the ordinary tourist fashion is one thing: to go there with a boat-load of more than five hundred Russian peasants is quite another. It is the same Jerusalem, of course, and yet it is not. For the pilgrimage takes place, as it were, in another dimension than that in which tourists and ordinary folk move and have their being. We glimpse the common realities of life as shadows, the things of the pilgrimage as the only solid and significant realities. Thus, journeying through the world, yet in a world apart from it, the sincere pilgrim reaches not merely the modern Oriental city of Jerusalem, but the holy city for which his heart yearns.

Mr. Graham traveled among these pilgrims in disguise, and was unhesitatingly accepted as one of them. He joined them at Constantinople on board the ship on which they embarked after long land journeys from every part of Russia. He made friends with them and learned their stories. He talked with the boy from the top of the Urals and came to know the priest, Father Yevgeny, who, in all simplicity and conviction, preached to approving listeners the "gospel of stupidity"—a curious type, this, the priest with a mission, who never shrinks from reproving the impious and manfully confronts the Devil in whatsoever guise he may appear.

And yet, perhaps, Yevgeny is not so hard to understand as the simpler people about him. They are incredible to us at first, these simple, unsophisticated peasants with little coherent or articulate thought in their minds, but with a burning aspiration at their hearts. At home, we are told, they are no better than they should be, some of them—incapable of complex wickedness, surely, yet not necessarily saints. But there is nothing of the mock moral in the impulse that sets their feet on the road to Jerusalem. They live upon crusts, they abstain from tobacco and vodka, they spend their money ungrudgingly for the objects they deem holy, and they endure great hardships cheerfully.

The pilgrim impulse is a thing not easily analyzed or defined; its phenomena are in the first place of psychological interest. "The incurable

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drunkard of the village," writes Mr. Graham, "picks himself out of the mire one afternoon, renounces drinking, and starts off for Jerusalem. The avaricious old mouzhik, who has been hoarding for half a century, wakens up one morning, gives all his money to some one, and sets off begging his way to a far-off shrine. The reserved and silent peasant, who has hidden his thoughts from those who loved him all his days, meets an utter stranger one afternoon, and with tears tells the story of his life, and reveals to him the secret of his heart; he also, perchance, starts on a pilgrimage." That is one phase of the matter. If we seek for further enlightenment, we may read the words of Khitrof, "the eternal pilgrim," and learn how the pilgrim-impulse has its origin in a "sweet feeling of the heart," which the peasant experiences first perhaps in his village church; how, as the feeling becomes dulled by contact with the ordinary things of life, he goes to renew it at monasteries and distant shrines, until, wandering farther and farther afield, he goes at last to Jerusalem itself. Says Khitrof: "I have seen many people who have not been to the Holy Land, but I have never seen one who has been once who did not wish to go again." But when we have done our best to understand the psychology of the thing, something is still lacking. We must be mystics, fully to enter into the spirit of the pilgrimage, and even that is not enough: we must have human sympathy. Mr. Graham knows how to make us feel with the humble people he describes, and there is no denying that contact with these simple and faithful souls is somehow steadying and uplifting. We respond, also, to the symbolism of the whole affair. Through it all, despite sordid surroundings, runs a sense of the majestic and the beautiful.

Yet the author is far from losing himself in vague reveries; few writers show a firmer grasp of reality than he. In the picture he paints, every space not required by the main figures is filled with significant detail or comely decoration. Scraps of conversation, odd incidents, facial expressions, costumes, habits, phases of character, all are made vivid and actual. Picturesquely he visualizes the larger scenes of the journey: the storm at sea, the march to the Jordan, the bathing in the sacred river, the Easter ceremonies at Jerusalem, the kindling of the sacred fire—always doing equal justice to the intensity of the inner and that of the outer life.

MY LIFE WITH THE ESKIMO. By VILHJALMUR STEFANSSON. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913.

There are narratives of exploration which equal this of Stefánsson's in the excitement of adventure, and in scientific interest as well—though seldom does an ethnological discovery so stir the imagination as that of the "blond Eskimo" who dwell on Victoria Island—but there is hardly another book of any sort which brings the reader into such close and sympathetic contact with the primitive mind—with the civilization of the stone age. Stefánsson lived the life of the Eskimo more fully than has any other explorer; in their intercourse with him they were not at all subject to the restraint that leads them to conceal their real thought from the missionary whose disapproval they fear, or from the trader whose ridicule they shun. Consequently, when he writes of their character, their minds, religious beliefs, habits, or folklore, he does so with an obvious insight that evokes interest and belief.

The impression of Eskimo human nature which became fixed in the mind

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of the explorer was that "they are the equals of the best of our own race in good-breeding, kindness, and the substantial virtues. They are men and women of the Stone Age, truly, but they differ little from you or me, or from the men and women who are our friends and families. They are not at all what a theorist might have supposed the people of the Stone Age to be, but the people of the Stone Age probably were what these their present representatives are: men with standards of honor, men with friends and families, men in love with their wives, gentle to their children, and considerate of the feelings and welfare of others." The fact that the most ancient human remains resemble, in proportion of skeleton and form of skull, the frames of modern men, confirms in a measure this interesting and philosophically significant opinion. But intellectually the Eskimo differs from the European in just those unexpected ways which the unaided theorist can never grasp. In his discussion of what he justly calls Eskimoized Christianity, the author strikingly illustrates the enormous but too often unsuspected difference that may lie between what words mean to the one who utters them and the form they may assume in the mind of the untutored hearer. The native Eskimo religion consists in a belief in spirits, with which is associated an elaborate system of taboos, covering nearly every act of a man's life. In the Eskimo tongue the word for "wise man" really signifies one who knows a large number of taboos. The point of view which this implies is irremovable. Thus, a thoughtful Eskimo told Stefánsson that some of his friends were in the habit of maintaining that the white men are less intelligent than the Eskimo, but for these he had a crushing rejoinder; he pointed out that while the Eskimo knew many taboos, it had never, before the coming of the white man, occurred to any of them that a *day* might be a taboo. The conception of Sunday thus proved the white man's superiority. The Eskimo, too, are of the opinion that the white man's prayers, though efficacious, are, like his rifles and other goods, subject to deterioration—a belief that may seem less naïve when we remember that the ancient Greeks in their discussion of immortality were inclined to question not so much the existence of the soul as the possibility of its wearing out. On one occasion Stefánsson noticed that certain Eskimo who had recently listened to a sermon enforcing the commandment not to tread in the footsteps of the wicked, carefully avoided following directly in his trail. Illustrations of the sort might be multiplied. Of prime importance to the student of early religious thought is the account of the Eskimo doctrine of guardian spirits whereby the spirit of some one recently deceased is supposed, after due invocation, to inhabit the body of a child and to remain in charge of it until the child's own soul has arrived at maturity. Thus Eskimo children are never forbidden anything—not, as has been supposed, because they are peculiarly well behaved, nor because their parents are peculiarly fond of them—but for fear of offending the guardian spirit. Next, perhaps, to religion, in a study of the primitive mind, stands language, and the concise account that Stefánsson gives us of the Eskimo tongue, with its novel structure, its complex accidence, and its surprising power of expression, is enough at least to rouse the average reader from the sloth of preconceived opinion. But the book is full of psychologic and human interest, and of clear-cut observation of many different kinds. On minor matters it is as illuminating as upon greater ones. We learn, for example, that the Eskimo's endurance is not really as great as the white man's; that neither the Indian nor the Eskimo carries "a compass in his

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head," but that each is more liable to lose his way in a strange country than the experienced Caucasian explorer; that dogs have really no scruple against cannibalism, but simply object, like humans, to a change of diet; and many other definite truths that seem to lift from the mind a proportionate weight of tiresome commonplace.

As to the "blond Eskimo" the unlearned reader, at least, will find it difficult, after looking at their photographs and reading the text concerning them, not to believe that these people are of European descent. As to their precise origin, the author, after a review of the available historical evidence, concludes that "if the reason that the Victoria Island Eskimo are European-like is that they are of European blood, then the Scandinavian colony in Greenland furnishes not only an explanation, but the only explanation."

HIGHWAYS AND BYWAYS IN THE BORDER. By ANDREW LANG AND JOHN LANG. London: Macmillan & Company, Limited, 1913.

To be able to write upon almost any subject entertainingly, in an invigorating spirit, and with a smile betimes, is a gift which was possessed in the highest degree by the late Andrew Lang. Naturally, in the volume under notice this gift would be exerted with more than usual power; for the subject-matter is of the sort that was especially dear to the writer's heart, and in itself that subject-matter is rich and varied. To write dully about the Scottish Border, its scenes and its legends, is something that few have accomplished. Of the *Highways and Byways* it is not easy to determine exactly how much is actually the work of Andrew Lang—only a small part, we are told in the preface—but there is no discernible division in the style or spirit of the book. In the later as well as in the earlier chapters, it has that admirable conversational quality which makes the reader unconscious of the difficulties involved in dealing with a multitude of details. At every point our interest is secured before we are aware, as we are guided through Scottish scenes, instructed in the incidents of Border history, or touched by the echoes of Border minstrelsy. In the earlier pages especially, one seems to see the effect of Andrew Lang's love of supernatural lore; ghost-stories, tales of warlocks and witches, are told with zest and detail. Here and throughout the book the writer seems to disdain nothing that may be of warm and living interest, from trout-fishing to the sack of a town. It makes no difference whether the subject be a bloody Border legend, a page from Froissart, or a necessary summary of historic facts, it is set forth with adequate clearness and a just appreciation of its value; nor is the general effect that of a hodge-podge. In the work there is much more method and skill than appears on the surface. What is grim and grisly in the old stories is handled with truth and tact; we get the effect of romance without any false glamour. There are flashes of wit enough to keep interest alight, and there is much of that human appreciation of character which often finds its best opportunity in dealing with the obscurer sort of historic or legendary personages. We have a kindly defense of Queen Mary in one passage, and in another an account of "Auld Ringan Oliver" that lives longer in the memory. Something of the gift of the old balladists for depicting character through a simple report of deeds and words has crept into the book, and to this essential simplicity is joined the urbanity of a modern man of letters. Places are described with that affectionate en-

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thusiasm which Scottish scenes inspire in the Scotch—a sentiment more infectious, and generally expressed with more discrimination, than the corresponding feeling in the hearts of other races. *Highways and Byways in the Border* is a modest enough book, from either a literary or a historic point of view, but one wishes that upon every subject which is capable of being made interesting to the majority of men and women as sound and charming a book could be written. The illustrations, by Hugh Thompson, are appreciative sketches quite in harmony with the tone of the text.

———

THOMAS HARDY'S WESSEX. By HERMANN LEA. London: Macmillan & Company, Limited, 1913.

The interest of Mr. Lea's comprehensive and pleasant book about the real Wessex which the imagined Wessex of the Hardy novels so nearly approximates is not of the second-hand sort that is said to depend merely upon associations. The connection between the novels and their setting is closer than that word implies; the two are identified. In the novels scenery joins with character and event to cast a spell upon us; in Mr. Lea's book we feel that we are not merely learning the topography of a region upon which fictitious incident and character have conferred a certain interest, but that we are again, and with a different sense of reality, surrounding ourselves with an atmosphere that we like for its own sake. Mr. Lea's book is pleasant reading because it is written with that combination of painstaking care, zest, and lightness of touch which hardly anything but a hobby of real worth can give rise to. Narrative, comment, and description are skilfully interwoven; the conventional guide-book style is avoided, nor is there in the continual allusions to the novels the least suggestion of the cut-and-dried recapitulations of the professional reviewer of books. Still the persons and incidents of the novels are always kept before us and thought of as inhabiting the very spots described. The book, therefore, precise and methodical as it is, does not destroy glamour, but deepens it. Indeed, in thus visiting the real homes and haunts of imaginary persons we are spared the disillusion, the sense of incongruity, that sometimes results from pilgrimages to the former homes of real, historic personages. Here, little has been changed or cheapened. Mr. Lea has gone about his task in quite the proper spirit. He has visited and revisited every spot which he describes; he has read everything of interest there is to read about his subject, except guide-books, which he has conscientiously avoided. He has allowed his thoughts to mature, and he has compressed rather than expanded what he had to say. His book is not merely a geographical commentary upon the novels, but draws its inspiration both from them and from the country itself, thus adding something to the topographical interest which the novels create. When one is not only interested in the "reddle man" of the *Return of the Native* as a striking and picturesque person, but is also interested in reddle and capable of feeling all that the use of this primitive coloring matter implies, then Wessex has entered into one's soul. Mr. Lea has produced a book adapted for easy reference, describing much that will ultimately disappear, and giving pleasure to the casual reader. Moreover, such facts as he has collected add a sense of permanence and definiteness to our appreciation of Hardy's novels. Many illustrations, made from photographs by the author, accompany the text.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

QUESTIONS ABOUT MEXICAN POLICY

DAVENPORT, IOWA.

SIR,—Introducing myself as a man who has for ten years or more been deeply interested in our neighbors to the south, who has lived with them, traveled about in their country, mingled with high and low, and has learned much about them, but who has no financial interest in Mexico either directly or indirectly, I want to congratulate you on your article in the December REVIEW, which I have only just now read. If more men of prominence, whose voices can be heard and whose writings cannot be ignored, had the courage of speaking out, no doubt public opinion, which means well, but is uninformed, would soon compel a change of policy.

I have for some weeks had lying in my desk a number of questions which I should like to propound to President Wilson, but, knowing from experience that letters from private, unknown citizens find no hearing or probably never reach their destination, I have refrained from sending them. They touch in part a phase which is not receiving much attention, and I take the liberty of intrusting them to you to use or not use, as you elect.

"Do you ever stop to think that the horrible butcheries which are now being enacted in a neighboring country are only made possible by the failure of our government to enforce the neutrality laws?"

"Do you ever consider that it is entirely by means of war material made in this country that hundreds of poor deluded men are being murdered?"

"Do you really believe that in a country where nine-tenths of the people cannot read a ballot a fair and free election by all the people is possible?"

"Do you think it fair to call a man guilty without trial, as is done in the case of President Huerta?"

"Do you believe that the notions of a foreigner should decide who is to be at the head of a nation's government rather than the laws of that land?"

"Do you not know that Huerta is the legal President of the United States of Mexico according to the law of that land just as much as you are the legal President here?"

"Does your conscience absolve you from all responsibility in the untold misery brought about by your refusal to recognize the only government existing in Mexico?"

"Are the bandits and highwaymen devastating the sparsely settled portions of Mexico entitled to the sympathy and help of a people standing for law and order?"

G. H. HINRICHS.

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GOVERNMENT MORALS

NEW YORK CITY.

SIR,—Would it not be interesting to the readers of your journal, and instructive in the present general discussion of subjects covered by the most recent Presidential "message," for you to develop this topic, with your great editorial art and command of facts, into a comprehensive article?

The (Federal) Government, considered concretely and apart from any partisan or "administration" aspect, regards itself as the regulator of the morals, business and private, of its citizens, as shown by its conduct of proceedings under the Sherman and other laws of business, and the White Slave act in respect to private morals. Especially as to business ethics, it is seeking to extend its powers of interference, repression, and regulation by arrogating to itself plenary power over issues of securities by railroads, over all the activities of banking and industrial enterprises, to the end that the Government may have veto power over every act of private business and every relation of those that control them. Is the morality of the Government's conduct in its relations with its citizens, private and corporate, such as to commend it as a censor of business or private ethics?

Witness the details of the mail-weighing test that took place in the fall of 1912, preparatory to the inauguration of the "parcels post" system, the purpose of which was to show a profit in the Post-office Department and let the loss fall on the carriers, and the practical effect was to compel the railroads to carry without compensation most of the packages of the nation; that is, the traffic for which the railroads would otherwise have received adequate pay from the express companies they now have to conduct for nothing. Witness, further, the enlargement of that system from eleven to twenty pounds, then to fifty pounds maximum per package, without legal warrant other than executive fiat based upon the power to regulate the carrying out of the law, but which correspondingly increased the burden of the railroads. Had a "trust" been guilty of like conduct in respect of its commercial rivals, what dire penalties of fine and imprisonment would have been invoked by a "righteous" government in relief of the oppressed and in response to outraged public sentiment!

Witness the history of the French Spoliation claims, *after* the receipt of full payment by the United States on behalf of its citizens. Similar conduct by an individual toward those entitled to satisfaction of their claims would be termed "fraud," "embezzlement," or the like, and would be treated as such, by indictment and prosecution upon the procurement of the same benevolent government.

Witness the enactment of pronounced class legislation of pernicious tendency, such as the multiple taxation of industry and thrift under the name of "Income Tax"; or such as the rider in one of the recent appropriation bills, exempting labor-unions and farmers' alliances from a specific enforcement of the "anti-trust" law, now urged as a "precedent" for a general enactment of similar tenor.

Many like instances will doubtless be developed in your fertile mind, without necessarily trenching upon the domain of international affairs—*e. g.*, the situation between the United States and Colombia that led to the Republic of Panama, or the relation of Panama Canal tolls to treaty-rights with other nations—and which will tend, perhaps, to support the view that the business dealings of the Government entitle it to be regarded as the arbiter of private morals only in the sense of "setting a thief to catch a

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thief." But a position so extreme would perhaps be inadvisable in an article tending to point out the danger of so great extension of governmental powers, and the futility of attempting to effectuate the moral code by administrative processes. "JUNIUS."

[We quite agree that the edict of the Postmaster-General increasing the weight of parcels-post packages had no warrant in equity or in law. We believe further that resistance by the railway companies would have been justifiable and successful. . . . It is the intention of the present Administration, we understand and hope, to right the wrong inflicted upon Colombia by President Roosevelt.—EDITOR.]

THE FALSE STEP

JOLIET, ILLINOIS.

SIR,—In the November number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW you criticized the Administration on account of its responsibility for the "rider" attached to the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill passed at the last session of Congress, and which exempts organizations of farmers from prosecution under the Sherman Anti-trust Law. The basis of your criticism is that this is class legislation. Your conclusion is undoubtedly correct. In fact, it would seem that it is, as was said by Mr. Taft in his veto of an appropriation bill containing a similar rider, "class legislation of the most vicious sort."

Now, I wish to refer you to an article by Hon. David Jayne Hill, which appeared in the December REVIEW, and wherein it is said:

"The division of men into friends and enemies of Constitutional Government must be based upon the attitude they assume toward its fundamental principle. This principle being the existence of equal and adequate guarantees, by which the life, the personal liberty, and the property of every citizen are rendered inviolate, every person and every organization that aims to secure advantages to the detriment of others must be classed as an enemy to Constitutional Government."

Mr. Hill, of course, states a truism, and the action of the Administration, as described by you, is a matter of common knowledge. How, then, can one escape the apparently logical conclusion that the Administration is not qualified for membership in that class known as the friends of Constitutional Government? Your assistance in affecting such an escape will be greatly appreciated. DORRANCE DIBELL SNAPP.

[One error does not constitute irremediable sin.—EDITOR.]

MATTERS OF OPINION

SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS.

SIR,—You question the legal and moral right of the President of the United States to say who shall be President of Mexico. This is truly a matter of question, so far as the legal right is concerned, but, so far as the moral right, it is not open for question with any self-respecting nation with a full knowledge of facts and considering that commercial and material matters should not dominate the moral question. Europe was not at all interested in the moral side, only in the material side, so recognized Huerta. As one renegade American located in the City of Mexico very aptly states, "little they cared if Mexico had a democracy or not," and they

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were not at all interested in the political aspirations of the Mexican people.

It is to the credit of the American people that President Wilson rose above this, and did consider the whole matter from a moral standpoint and acted accordingly, thus marking a new era in the world's history.

You further state that it is the consensus of opinion all over this country that it would have been the part of wisdom to give Huerta a chance. I question this flatly, for when the events happened bringing about the murder of Madero I asked for the editorial opinions of the leading one hundred daily papers in the United States, and out of the hundred only thirteen favored recognition of Huerta, and since that time, keeping in touch with public opinion in this way, I find that it has not changed, and at the present time President Wilson is backed up with almost a solid public opinion, the great majority of the Press, and by his Congress, and, still further, has brought Europe into line with his policy, a victory in every respect not open to question whatever.

Next I come to your statement that the President's method frustrated his own intent, and instead of eliminating Huerta has riveted him in his place, to be expelled by force of arms. It is only at the end we can judge of this, and the end is approaching and does not as yet indicate anything of the kind. Huerta reminds one of the standpats, and is either unable or will not see the end. Further, he is helped by the lack of real patriotism on the part of the richer classes in Mexico and also by their cowardice. Due to this he, with his army, is able to hold them in check, as the real patriotism is only found among the Constitutionalists. And the policy of the President of the United States is slowly eliminating Huerta, and the force of arms is on the part of the Constitutionalists, and not by the soldiers of Uncle Sam.

(1) The next point I beg the liberty of questioning is the statement that Huerta has been in any way strengthened by the so-called refusal of Governor Carranza to accept any mediatory proposals on the part of the United States. What Carranza really did, nobody knows except the President and his Cabinet and Mr. Hale. That it is possible that Governor Carranza took the opportunity to place himself on record before his own people as opposed to mediation was good politics on his part. The Huerta people have accused him of wanting to form a confederacy out of the States of Northern Mexico, and of being assisted in this by the Government at Washington, for it has been openly stated that the State Department at Washington would favor this move; but Governor Carranza is too wise to be caught in this way, and knows his own people well enough not to even contemplate such a move. In addition, we have seen Carranza gaining ground right along, and Huerta losing, certainly a refutation of your conclusion.

(2) You state that we are confronted by a condition of anarchy, not by a theory of government, and this condition is becoming intolerable.

Now, if the calm treatment of this question on the part of the American people indicates such a condition, I fail to see it, and about the only ones who view the situation as you do in this respect are the foreign colonies in Mexico City, and the interests affected by the war going on, and right here one might say that the present war in Mexico is none of their business, and the further fact remains that it is the Mexican people who are suffering the most and will have the bills to pay, and not the foreign interests. The

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damages claimed are absurdly exaggerated, and the settlement at the end will show this.

Commenting on the President's high purpose and his good faith, you state that the policy he sincerely believed in has failed. Here it is well to wait to the end, for it has not come as yet, and only then can this statement be made, but I venture the assertion that it has not failed so far, and that it will not fail in the end.

(3) A reversal of policy is impossible; it would place the American Government in contempt, and, further, it is a point which can hardly be discussed. You say well, however, that we must strengthen somebody, but you say ill when you state there is little choice. The Constitutionalists should be accorded every possible assistance, for they are clearly entitled to it. They have the sympathy of the mass of the people of this country, and they have done nothing to forfeit this sympathy. Theirs is a cause we should have full sympathy with, for it is one of a people securing their rights under the law and to be enabled to enjoy their personal and political liberties. They have been abused and called bandits and robbers, but it remains a fact that only where the Constitutionalists are in control is there order, and where the Federals are in control order is only a cannon's shot from their garrisons. Due to the fact that the mass of the people in Mexico are in full sympathy with them, the Constitutionalists, and, give these same people the right to secure arms, Huerta would be run into the Gulf of Mexico in a month.

(4) Armed intervention would be a shame and a disgrace to our people and their government. Here is Mexico torn by internal conflict, and to the point of exhaustion unable to withstand any armed movement, and to consider a move like armed intervention now would only clinch the statement made by the Latin American people, that the United States was only waiting for the opportunity to seize Mexico.

I beg to submit the above to your kind consideration and ask on your part a more sympathetic treatment of the Mexico case, and I believe a review of the situation in the light of recent events will convince you that this would be the right course. Believe me, with respects,

WILLARD L. SIMPSON.

[(1) Mr. Carranza's statement was made over his own signature. Assuming that deceiving his own people was "good politics," was it good morals? We had not heard that "the State Department" favored separation of the Northern States. It is the bandit Villa who has "gained ground," not Carranza, who still remains in prudent seclusion. (2) Surely the foreign residents of Mexico possess some claim to consideration. If the war is not "their business," how can it be ours? (3) We have seen no reports of disorder in towns held by the Federals. The rebels were accorded the privilege of obtaining arms on February 4th. The month within which Huerta is to be run into the Gulf expires on March 4th. (4) Undoubtedly; but—whither are we drifting?—EDITOR.]

FROM A WOMAN IN VERA CRUZ

VERA CRUZ, MEXICO.

SIR,—I am here in Vera Cruz for several weeks during this period of "Watchful Waiting," which I wish I might feel is as temporary as my stay; but the feeling here is that Huerta is good for many months yet, and

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this condition of euphonious alliteration may be extended indefinitely. I suppose it is easier to wait watchfully or watchfully wait in Washington than here. Washington is so far away that only the beauty of the landscape seems to be discernible—the pure white snow of Popocatapetl is apparently all the President and Secretary Bryan can see. Their eyes do not travel down to the hillsides and valleys where people live, or rather, die, these days. They would find another color scheme—a country stained red with blood, mostly of innocent victims, and of some Americans. One would think that the white snows of Popocatapetl would reflect a rosy glow.

Vera Cruz has a floating population which is diverting, often pitiful, people going back and forth to Tampico, ruined families leaving for the States, and business men returning from New York on their way to Mexico and the interior. All are outspoken here, saying what they please in good George Ade English. In fact, there has been so much frankness at the American Consulate that the Consul has been forced to post the following notice:

CRITICISM IN THE CONSULATE OF PRESIDENT WILSON, SECRETARY-OF-STATE BRYAN, OR ANY OTHER OFFICIAL OF THE UNITED STATES, PRESIDENT HUERTA, THE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF VERA CRUZ, GENERAL MAAS, OR ANY OTHER MEXICAN OFFICIAL, OR ANY CONSTITUTIONALIST OFFICIAL WILL NOT BE TOLERATED.

ANY ONE VIOLATING THIS RULE WILL BE IMMEDIATELY EJECTED FROM THE CONSULATE.

By Order,

W. W. CANADA,
United States Consul.

It seemed to amuse one big Texan who had lost his all under Madero's régime and who had, perhaps not in chosen language, expressed his idea of the "Wilson Policy" at the Consulate. He roared with laughter when shown the notice and asked who wanted the job, the three efficient but not physically robust clerks, or the little dog who is so time-worn as to have no teeth. He was tipped back in his chair, recounting this to a group of—may I say rough-necks?—and was sipping a cooling drink. I was talking with two officers from our ships. I suggested that here at last was a shore job for some of our impatient marines and cooped-up blue-jackets; something that would give them exercise and plenty of it, and make them feel like fighting men. But my suggestion was considered frivolous.

There is excitement here now on account of the situation of the banks and the fact that Huerta decreed a legal holiday. This is not to keep the banks from failing. Oh dear, no! It is so that influential insiders will have time to go in the back door and get their money out, with the result that the small accounts—savings and sacrifices of years, perhaps—will go unpaid. I really boil when I think of the sacrifice of the innocent in all this trouble. Our Government has missed its target about as cleverly as any Mexican Federal put into the army the preceding day would miss his. Doubtless our Government wishes to ruin Huerta financially. What happens? Huerta gets all the money there is. The rich people get their money out of the country, and the thousands of poor savers are the ones hit.

Another phase: Our Government orders Americans from Mexico. Whom does it hit hardest? The big mine-owners and other large interests are injured to a certain extent; but it ruins thousands of hard-working Americans and their families, who cannot remain on their farms and plantations

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because the United States does not demand of the Mexican Government with *intent to enforce,* either an indemnity or punishment in the case of murdered Americans.

And what happens to the farms and ranches our Americans are forced to leave? They are left to the consuming jungle, or taken over by others. It is hard to say that nobody, unless protected by force, is safe in these parts from drunken Rebels or Federals, according to what they call themselves at the moment; but Germans and Englishmen are infinitely safer than Americans or Frenchmen or Spaniards. Why? Because Americans can be and have been killed and the United States does nothing. One hundred and twenty-seven have been murdered since the Madero revolution began, and not *one* accused man has ever been brought to trial. Not one cent of indemnity has ever been paid, or, apparently, even insisted upon.

Frenchmen can now be killed with impunity, for in some parts they are under the protection (?) of our Nation, and so Mexicans cannot understand why Frenchmen should receive more protection than our own people. (They understand us very little.) Spaniards are always in danger, because Spain has never been in a position to do anything. The Mexicans, therefore, have no respect for a Spaniard. It is the English and Germans who are respected here. Both of these nations force Mexico to live up to treaty obligations, and both have clever men in the capital, well backed by their home governments, to do the forcing. These men do what they say they are going to do, and don't threaten or waste words. We must admit that General Scott's association with these people was successful. He enjoined his subordinates: "Never argue with a Mexican. Tell him." This may all sound bitter. It is not bitterness for myself, for our own particular interests have not been seriously damaged. I am bitter for others; for the suffering, the ruin, the desolation on all sides, and for the anguish of the poorer Mexicans, the innocent victims of this terrible misunderstanding.

On all sides is the question, what is the end? and the simple answer, American Intervention. I dread intervention, for I know what it would mean. I dread it not because I fear resistance, for there would be little of that; not because of loss of life, for I firmly believe the loss of life would be exceedingly small; but I dread it because it is an educational task. That may be what appeals to our President. A never-finished occupation of an immense territory to what end? The effort to force a square block into a round hole; to force a government on these people that they neither desire nor are capable of understanding, and which no more fits them than does our own system fit the mulatto population in President Wilson's State of Virginia.

In spite of our time-honored Monroe Doctrine, Germany secures indemnity and punishment for murders of Germans. We deliver ring-memoranda, antepenultimatums, as Colonel Harvey calls them, and they are utterly ignored. We then announce that we shall watchfully wait. If Americans were not a naturally self-reliant lot here, as elsewhere, with a reputation for efficient and economical use of automatic pistol ammunition, or if the Mexican people did not believe that our President and Mr. Bryan are alone in their position, the situation of Americans would be even more dangerous. We stand on our own feet, and so far have neither received nor expect to receive protection which is our due—or which we once thought was our due, once for a long time, while our Administration gave more thought to Americans than to aliens in alien lands.

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To speak again of this haggard and haggled recognition of Huerta. England recognized the *de facto* Government immediately because there was business to be carried on which had to pass through the usual governmental channels. Our business has been greatly jeopardized by the non-recognition of Huerta by the United States. The position of interests and Americans would be almost intolerable here if it were not for the personally pleasant relations existing between our *chargé d'affaires,* Nelson O'Shaughnessy and General Huerta. That the delay in recognizing was used to gain time and in lieu of a definite policy there is now practically no doubt. It was not until the month of August that the Mexican situation was put on the single-track mind of the President. After a round-trip excursion of a few days, for the President stopped just where he started and apparently looked only on one side of the track, he announced a policy called the Elimination of Huerta. Of course, that is not a policy, but it is explained to the lay mind that there *is* a policy, this being the first step. Perhaps the President, from his own intellectual heights, considers his fellow-citizens unable to grasp the policy if unfolded. Perhaps the following steps of the policy depend upon the successful accomplishment of the first longed-for move. In the mean time the prestige of Americans—no, not of Americans, but of the Power of the United States—has diminished until it is *nil.*

I have just seen Mr. John Lind, our special envoy here, in the portales. He is quite a character and an interesting figure. He is a tall, slim old gentleman, with keen eyes and a slow, deliberate way of speaking. He has the reputation of being silent, and he certainly keeps out of the public eye. He is rarely even seen in the streets, and lives at the American Consulate. It is believed that he is becoming educated in regard to the situation, and that his views are not entirely in accord with those of the Administration on every point. I sincerely trust this is not the case, for we must want the policy, whatever it is, to succeed, and it cannot unless there is a strong hand to blindly push it forward. It is to be expected that if Mr. Lind remains here and begins to understand conditions, he will naturally drift further and further away from the Administration's point of view. It looks as if this were happening, and Mr. Lind, I judge, is so independent and honest that he would leave or allow himself to be recalled if he does not approve the course.

Mr. John Lind is one of the surprising Americans who, experienced and educated far from the scene of a situation, get an accurate and adequate idea of it on short notice.

I have just been sitting down-stairs and reading a Mexican weekly. There is a cultivated article therein, with many long words, exhorting Mexicans to arise and save Mexico for the Mexicans, and, as an Englishman near by drawled, "Go back to hanging on the trees by their tails." This refrain, Mexico for the Mexicans is popular. It is on a par with the popular theme of the Monroe Doctrine, and understood just about as well as the average Americans understand that doctrine. What does the impossible realization of this dream of Mexico for the Mexicans mean? It means that all the big industries which employ thousands of workmen and pay them a living wage, and more, will shut down. Though we are told by our President that this is a race of achievements, it is difficult to discover exactly what these achievements are. The development of the country agriculturally? Perhaps—to the extent to which it *is* developed, which is

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ridiculously and sinfully limited. The development of mines? No. Ninety-five per cent. of mines are owned and managed by foreigners. The operation of smelters? No. The development of petroleum? No. These branches are in the hands of Americans. Sugar, rubber, and coffee plantations are owned most extensively by foreigners. Along other lines of development: who built the railways? English and American engineers. Who installed the large portworks in Vera Cruz, Tampico, Coatzocoalcos and Manzanillo? Englishmen and Americans. Electric lighting and tramways all over the Republic are financed and operated by Canadians, Englishmen, and Americans. The great architectural achievements have been in the hands of Italian artists and engineers since the Spaniards were driven away. There is hardly a city in Mexico without its long-unfinished market, theater, or palace, monuments to patriotic outbursts which put the construction in the hands of Mexican engineers. It will be readily seen that the biggest practical interests, which together employ hundreds of thousands of workmen at good wages, would be killed by Mexico for the Mexicans, for these people cannot administer great things.

An army of unemployed would thus be thrown either back to the ranches to work for two reals per day (worth, at present, less than ten cents) for their compatriots, or more likely they would take up brigandage as a more diverting and lucrative occupation. It is the foreign capital which has raised the standard of pay and forced the unwilling ranch-owner to pay his peons a living wage to keep his men from moving to other ranches foreign owned, or to the foreign mines and smelters. It is the foreign capital invested in the development of Mexico which has given the country its position in the eyes of the world. "The People" is the cry of all republics. "The good of the people." The more that foreigners go into Mexico, the better it is for the masses, the ones who do the work, and the worse it is for the trouble-raising class who want Mexico for the Mexicans, a ten-cent wage, twelve hours per day, and lard-oil lamps cleaned by two-peso-a-month slaves.

We all believe, of course, that we are going as fast as possible on the road to intervention, in consequence of the Administration policy. A prominent Senator, when asked why he favored this policy, said, "Because I want intervention and this is the quickest way to get it." That leads to the question, when will there be intervention, and for what reason shall we intervene now, having accepted practically every national insult, and having waived every reason for intervention made international law by Mr. McKinley's declaration of intervention in Cuba?

I am forced to believe, though it goes against the grain, that intervention will come to avenge the wrongs of Europeans and not those of Americans; for the Administration has provided itself with an answer to a new "Remember the Alamo" war-cry in "We carefully warned those Americans to leave Mexico." France has cleverly placed a portion of her nationals under our protection. When Frenchmen in Mexico receive the treatment Americans have received, France will naturally fail to understand that her citizens were killed as a means to the end of establishing the Consent of the Governed in Mexico, and will probably demand that damages be paid by our own taxpayers. That is the logical result of the Monroe Doctrine, which says to Europe: "Stay out! You can't redress the wrongs of your citizens in Mexico as you can in Asia!" Carry this further. The big rich dog-in-the-manger that prevents protection of Europeans is responsible; and we

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understand that this big rich dog-in-the-manger has signed a Convention which will force it to allow this question to come before the Hague Tribunal of European judges. The success of France will be followed by other European nations, saying, "Protect our citizens or we waive the Monroe Doctrine." The Hague Tribunal will make us pay claims, just and unjust, and we will be in the position of the fond parent who allows her child to break toys in a shop, and says, with a deprecating smile: "He is *so* active and destructive. Yes, I'll pay for all he's broken," instead of having administered the proper punishment.

What a position, what a "predicament as a nation in which we find ourselves!" as Colonel Harvey says. That it is a predicament there is no doubt. That it is the most serious question that confronts us as a nation there is not the slightest doubt. That the public has a right to know what "The Policy" is, no one can deny. "The first step is the elimination of Huerta." That gives us no clue as to the policy. Neither does "Watchful Waiting" mean anything but a catchy alliteration which it is strange the President failed to realize would appeal to a fun-loving nation.

I wish the President's policy could succeed. I know this country and the people. The President doesn't. He is speaking to them in a language they do not understand. His information comes from people who have been here only a short time, and who are incapable, no matter how clever and enlightened they may be, of having a real grasp and understanding of the situation. The idea of the President seems to be to put a fresh, unbiased mind to work on the subject. I might also add, a mind entirely blank and ignorant of the situation. Now is it possible that a man like this, with no groundwork of experience, can describe the true situation, any more than a boy with no foundation in arithmetic can solve problems in trigonometry? The eyes must become accustomed by long residence to the brilliant sunlight of Mexico before they can see clearly.

EDITH MACK.

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